

Intifada:
second
stage

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HIGH-SPEED RAIL



A new train of thought in the U.S.

F.K. Plous reports

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The changing state of the unions in Nicaragua

By David R. Dye

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

One day after losing Nicaragua's February election, then-President Daniel Ortega told a throng of his staunchest supporters that the Sandinista Front, thrust into opposition after an 11-year rule, would "govern from below," using the organized power of the masses to resist deterioration of Sandinista achievements.

The phrase has reverberated in Nicaragua's rarified political atmosphere ever since. From it, the Sandinistas derive a comforting—some would say illusory—reassurance that although they may have lost an election, the substance of their power is still intact. On the other side, rabid National Opposition Union (UNO) backers evoke it to express dismay that the "democracy" they thought they had won has still not come to pass and will not until the new UNO government begins to show some backbone vis-à-vis the Sandinistas.

In defending their conquests against the UNO onslaught, the Sandinistas' chief card is the strength of their union arm. Claiming a membership in the hundreds of thousands, the party's union affiliates find themselves in the midst of Nicaragua's political maelstrom. The May 11-16 strike by the National Confederation of Public Employees—a 60,000-strong grouping, formally independent but spearheaded by Sandinista militants—was the first great confrontation with the government of President Violeta Chamorro and led to a seemingly resounding victory for the strikers.

Subsequent events made it clear, however, that the public workers' action is but the opening round in what promises to be a long slugfest between government and the Sandinista labor movement.

Old vs. new: The stage for the confrontation was set by Ortega's outgoing government before the April 25 turn-over. Among many post-election initiatives, the lame-duck Sandinista administration granted major wage increases to workers and slapped a hold on mini-devaluations of the nation's currency. When the new government corrected this, announcing a massive 50 percent devaluation, prices shot up by more than 100 percent. Nicaragua's latent hyperinflation was rekindled and workers suddenly found their wage gains turned to sand. In response, the employees unions demanded 200 percent and threatened

to go out on strike.

Handed the hot potato by Chamorro, UNO Labor Minister Francisco Rosales talked tough, offering a mere 60 percent increase and suspending a recently approved Civil Service Law protecting government workers from arbitrary firings. In what became a leitmotif of the government's strike propaganda, Rosales argued May 11 that the strikers' goal was to "provoke chaos and destabilize the government." The government added fuel to the fire by announcing decrees to review expropriations carried out by the Sandinistas and to permit former landholders to lease state properties while their claims were being considered—moves the Sandinistas heralded as the beginnings of an agrarian "counterreform."

The same day, the unions decided to flex their muscles, grinding government business to a virtual standstill. Within days government ministries were occupied; banking, bus and telephone services were disrupted; the airport and traffic into and out of the country were paralyzed. To the dismay of the government, the Sandinista police showed themselves unwilling to use force to dislodge the strikers.

After brief negotiations, the government gave in on May 16. Its wage offer was raised to 100 percent, further increases to cover inflation were promised in June and an agreement was reached to bargain over wage classifications and civil-service rules.

For a short time the Sandinistas' victory seemed complete. They had chosen issues—wages and job security—that rallied the workers. Though popular acceptance of the strikers' actions seemed mixed, the five-day walkout had not seriously inconvenienced the public. Among the important gains, union leaders thought, was more solid support from wavering workers waiting to see if the Sandinistas were capable of delivering. "We are sure that as a union we have gained respect and prestige," said Miriam Reyes of the state Ministry of Construction's union. "The feeling of the workers is that the union represents them."

But the government turned some tables on its opponents. Displaying a newfound cohesion, the UNO majority in Nicaragua's National Assembly passed civil-service amendments exempting "employees of confidence" from the law's protection. The assembly then passed labor "reforms" permitting firings without just cause and reinstating government tutelage over union statutes. The two actions portended coming tussles over jobs and union recognition that threaten to undermine the May 16 agreements.

As the conflict moved to the legislative plane—where the new government has legitimacy—observers wondered not only about how much the unions had won but whether Chamorro's advisers had used the confrontation to infuse some unity into a badly fractured UNO coalition. On balance, how much did the unions gain? The answer depends not simply on wage figures but on strategic perspectives on both sides of the conflict.

The Sandinista unions clearly could have held out for their 200 percent demand, but they opted instead for an implicit pact with the government to "concert" future wage and other economic policies. Though not all workers were happy with the decision to hold back, it reflected a large political dilemma. Musing over the problem, Bayardo Arce, of the party's National Directorate, asserted that "if the Sandinista Front deployed all its forces, it could paralyze the country. But to what purpose? The government resigns, and then what? If they send not only for AID [the U.S. Agency for International Development] but also for the Marines...?"

Arce's remarks reflect recognition that pushing short-term gains to an extreme would allow the government to argue, as it did in this instance, that having lost the elections the Sandinistas are sabotaging the nation's economic recovery, while at the same time damaging prospects for final demobilization of the contras (see page 6).

On the other hand, party leaders know that after 11 years in power their seemingly strong union base is shaky and subject to raiding. Nicaragua's workers may be apprehensive over what the new administration's policies will do to them, but some also remember how the Sandinista Workers Central (CST), with official backing, muscled its way into control of offices and workplaces

and then forced workers to accept years of revolutionary austerity. Among other adversaries, the Sandinistas must fight off former "opposition" unionists, grouped together in a Permanent Congress of Workers (CPT) aligned with UNO, who want to regain lost positions.

Fresh challenges: In their handling of the May strikes, the Sandinistas appeared successful in walking the fine line between national political responsibility and a sufficiently resolute defense of their bases to fend off major desertions from the ranks. In this sense, the outcome on May 16 was a victory. The future, nevertheless, is certain to bring fresh challenges.

For one thing, union rivals are clearly making some inroads. Communist Party union leader Roberto Moreno estimates that, at a minimum, 15,000 Nicaraguan workers have disaffiliated from the CST since April 25, forming alternative unions linked to the CPT. Though the figure is hard to verify, if true it would represent more than 10 percent of claimed CST membership. Triumphantly, Moreno predicts that "by the end of the year Sandinista unions will be reduced to insignificance."

That seems highly unlikely. Nevertheless, the UNO government can potentially wield its new legal weapons to try to implant the unions it wants and rid itself of the upper-level personnel that, for political reasons, it doesn't want to keep. Looming on the horizon of economic policy is also a slow privatization of Nicaragua's state enterprises, further corroding Sandinista union strength. Meanwhile, UNO can hope to bottle up immediate negotiating issues in commissions and "concertation" procedures, trying patiently to outlast the enemy while Nicaragua's economy is slowly refloated with U.S. aid.

INSIDE STORY

There is a potential hitch in this strategy. Having suffered through decades of "official" unionism, both under Somoza and the Sandinistas, the CPT unions insist they will not be docile handmaidens of the UNO government. They are already outbidding the Sandinistas on wage issues, staking claim to a \$150 monthly minimum wage in July, when a promised new currency, the "gold cordoba," goes into circulation. At two to three times current average wage levels, this demand cannot be squared with the government's drive for economic stabilization and later negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

The prospect, in short, is for the natural class antagonism between workers and employers to rise to the surface. Though they will be at odds for some time, once jurisdictional squabbles die down Sandinista and non-Sandinista unions may well begin to join forces against Chamorro's "bourgeois" government. The Communist Party's Moreno, a UNO deputy, already plans to introduce both minimum-wage legislation and a measure striking down government control over internal union affairs. If UNO national leaders oppose him, he says, the minority of progressive UNO lawmakers will join forces with the Sandinista deputies and pass the laws anyway.

What implications does all of this hold for the future of Nicaragua's labor movement? Though the Sandinistas will doubtless lose some strength, it cannot yet be predicted that they will soon be ousted as the dominant force. In addition, without collaboration of the police—a Sandinista legacy—establishing an official anti-Sandinista unionism in Nicaragua will be tough, even if pliable "leaders" are found. The union scene, then, is likely to be a competitive one, with unions of different political colors bidding against one another for the workers' loyalty.

This is a bad omen for a government whose short- and long-term economic policies require keeping wages under quarantine. But it's good news for Nicaragua's workers, who by virtue of the country's strange political equilibrium may come to enjoy a rare blessing—a degree of union freedom found in few Latin American countries.

David R. Dye is *In These Times*' correspondent in Nicaragua.

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Earth First bombing: blaming the victim

By Dennis Bernstein

OAKLAND, CALIF.

IT WAS JUST BEFORE NOON ON MAY 24. A PATCH-work of high clouds was drifting westward toward San Francisco Bay. Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, folksinging organizers for the environmental group Earth First!, had just finished work on a grant proposal for its "Redwood Summer," a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience to save the remaining 5 percent of Northern California's oldest redwoods. The two were on their way to Santa Cruz to oversee a rally to raise funds and drum up support for the campaign that is scheduled to begin this month.

But the organizers never made it out of Oakland. Bari's white Subaru station wagon was ripped apart by a pipe bomb as it passed in front of Oakland High School, where a stunned gym class had been working out.

Cherney, in a radio interview with Humboldt County's KMUD the day after the bombing, described what it felt like to be inside the car when it exploded. "I heard a crack, and then my whole head started to ring like a sitar. The car came to a screeching halt.

"I had a seat belt on, [so] I couldn't figure out how come my head was bleeding if I hadn't hit the windshield," Cherney told KMUD listeners. "I looked over to Judi and she was slumped in her seat screaming in pain. Then I heard somebody scream out, 'A bomb! It was a bomb!' Suddenly it all made sense: someone had tried to kill us."

But the Oakland police believed otherwise. The day after the bombing incident, the two injured Earth Firsters were charged with knowingly transporting explosives as well as violating several related laws.

Pointing the finger: Bari was barely conscious at the time she was placed under house arrest at Highland Hospital, where she is expected to convalesce for at least six weeks after suffering a broken pelvis and multiple soft-tissue injuries. Cherney was forced to do his recuperating in the Oakland city jail, where he was interrogated by the Oakland police and the FBI.

Bari and Cherney vehemently denied police allegations that they had planted the crude bomb, which was approximately two inches in diameter and eight inches long, for some unspecified future use. Cherney told KMUD he was flabbergasted when he realized where the FBI was heading during its interrogation. The interview was fairly cordial "up to a point," he said, "then all of a sudden the questioning changed and they kind of squinted down a little bit into my one eye that was left and said, 'We can find out if that was your bomb or not, so why don't you just tell us.'"

According to Cherney, the police quickly rejected his claims that he and Bari had been targeted for assassination because of their political work and claimed to have strong evidence that the two blew themselves up accidentally when their own homemade "anti-personnel" bomb exploded prematurely.

The day after the bombing, Oakland Police Lt. Mike Sims said, "The evidence is strong that they were transporting this device, and that's why they were arrested." The decision to arrest, he continued, "was based on the

placement of the device, the nature of its construction and physical and other evidence." Police bomb experts said the bomb was located under Bari's seat near her guitar case and claimed that she should have noticed it when she loaded her car earlier that morning.

Cherney and Bari were not the only ones who were treated harshly by the police. Within two hours of the bombing, a large police squad entered the Berkeley-based Seeds of Peace collective—where Cherney had slept

were scheduled to be formally arraigned, the Alameda prosecutor asked for a postponement.

"The main reason that charges are not being filed today," Assistant District Attorney Chris Carpenter told Judge Judith Ford in a courtroom filled with Earth First! supporters, "is so that the police can continue to investigate the matter and so that the physical evidence can be subjected to laboratory analysis by the FBI."

But Bari's attorney, Susan Jordan, told the

Letter writer claims responsibility for bombing



As *In These Times* went to press, a letter claiming responsibility for the Oakland car-bombing as well as another bombing on May 9 at Louisiana Pacific's Cloverdale Mill had been received on May 30 by the Santa Rosa *Press Democrat*. The three-page, single-spaced, typed document, which contained details about the structure of both bombs, opened by saying, "I built with these hands the bomb that I placed in the car of Judi Bari. ... Now all who would come to the forest and worship the trees like gilded idols have been Warned. They see the fate that awaits them." The letter's author said he or she was inspired to "strike down" Bari after encountering her at an Operation Rescue anti-abortion protest.

"The Lord cleared my vision," the letter

read, "and revealed this unto me outside the baby-killing clinic when Judi Bari smote with Satan's words the humble and faithful servants of the Lord who had come there to make witness against abortion. This possessed demon Judi Bari spread her poison to tell the multitude that trees were not God's gift to man but that trees were themselves gods and it was a sin to cut them. I felt the power of the Lord stir within my heart, and I knew I had been chosen to strike down this demon."

The *Press Democrat* gave a copy of the letter, which was signed "The Lord's Avenger," to the FBI on the day it was received. The bureau told the *Press Democrat* that it would analyze the letter, adding, "You've obviously got a piece of evidence that we're interested in." —D.B.

the night before—without a search warrant. The eight Seeds of Peace members present were handcuffed, searched and taken into police custody.

After their release, they returned home to a ransacked house. "The contents of entire rooms were piled up in the middle of the floor," said Sarah Seeds. "Let's put it this way: the earthquake last year did not do as much damage as the bomb squad."

After searching Cherney's and Bari's homes in Mendocino County—as well as another Redwood Summer organizer's house and the Seeds of Peace residence—the police had catalogued the following evidence: some duct tape, wire, batteries and finishing nails that they claimed "resembled" the materials used to make the pipe bomb. In numerous press interviews after the explosion, the police said they had enough compelling evidence to warrant a \$100,000 bail request for Cherney and Bari. But on May 29, the day the two

court her client and Cherney feared that the case might be dropped and evidence destroyed if the police decided there was insufficient evidence to indict Bari and Cherney. Jordan then asked the court to use its "ongoing supervisory power" to grant special permission to the defense to view the material so that it could supplement the police inquiry with its own investigation.

The court denied the defense request. Outside the courtroom after his release, Cherney told reporters, "I'm innocent. I'm scared to death of explosives. I've never even lit a firecracker in my life. I don't appreciate the fact that we're being persecuted instead of protected."

Why Bari and Cherney? "What bothered me was the almost immediate and exclusive presumption that the bomb belonged to Earth First!," said David Kennitzer, who had been working closely with Bari and Cherney on Redwood Summer and was questioned

at the scene. "Within 15 minutes of the incident, they were assuming we were the bombers. This, despite all the death threats and all the other intimidation against Cherney and Bari."

According to Cherney, he and Bari had received at least six serious death threats in recent months. In a letter postmarked April 10, Bari was warned to "get out and go back to where you come from. We know everything. YOU WON'T GET A SECOND WARNING."

But the FBI has not yet investigated the various death threats, according to bureau spokesman Duke Biedrich. The day after the car-bombing, Oakland's Lt. Sims told reporters that the police don't believe that the "death threats had anything to do with the bombing."

Nor did the police deem an earlier incident, in which Bari's car was rammed from behind, worthy of a serious investigation. They said last summer's ramming incident was nothing more than a "typical traffic accident," a claim Bari and Cherney bitterly dispute. Bari, who was traveling with Cherney and her two children at the time, maintains that the truck, owned by Redwood Coast Trucking, that rear-ended her was driven by someone Earth First! had blockaded the day before. Bari told the Mendocino-based *New Settler* interview that her car was hit "with no warning whatsoever: there was no squeal of the brakes, nothing. We were hit full force by a logging truck. My car left the ground, sailed through the air and hit another truck, twice the size of my car. We all had concussions and were out of commission for a month."

Bari's co-workers said it is her uncanny ability to forge links between the labor movement and the environment that makes the feisty Earth Firster so threatening to the logging industry. Bari recently organized 75 Mendocino millworkers and loggers for the Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies.

"Seventy-five sounds insignificant," said Kennitzer, "until you realize that a portion of the program of her union has been sustained growth of the forest and limitations on logging practices."

"She knew that the more effective she became, the more intent big lumber and government was going to be to take her out," said Beth Bosk, editor of the *New Settler* interview. "She expected to be framed and she expected to be the target of assassinations" because she could potentially turn "a small, radical organization that other people look on aghast into a mass movement. And she was attracting timber workers to it."

Bay Area Earth Firsters said that there has been an "obvious growth in support" for the group's "Mississippi Summer in the Redwoods" and that its ranks have continued to swell since the May 24 car-bombing.

"We've always said that this was not a picnic," said Cherney. "And this incident more than ever stresses the need to entrench ourselves in the non-violent ethic. Three deaths and the jailing of some organizers did not stop Freedom Summer in Mississippi in 1964. And it will not stop Redwood Summer of 1990."

Dennis Bernstein is the founder of *Undercurrents*, a nationally syndicated investigative radio report that won the 1990 Polk Award for outstanding reporting.

By Joel Bleifuss

How would you spend \$1,000,000,000,000?

"You ain't seen nothing yet," was the gist of Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady's testimony before the Senate Banking Committee on May 23. He told the senators that, ultimately, the number of failed savings and loans (S&Ls) may exceed 1,000—or more than one-third of the S&Ls in the U.S. Brady also informed the committee that the Bush administration needs at least \$57 billion in addition to the \$73 billion Congress appropriated last year to bail out the failed thrifts. Last month the General Accounting Office (GAO) estimated that, counting interest, it will eventually cost taxpayers about \$500 billion to bail out the 423 thrifts that have failed so far. But that amount could soon be out of date. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan told the Senate Banking Committee that in a worst-case scenario another 614 troubled thrifts will fail, bringing the number of insolvent S&Ls to 1,037. Extrapolating from the GAO's April estimate of a \$500 billion bailout, this new figure indicates that the final bill for the S&L rescue might top \$1 trillion.

Blank check: In any event, it is going to take astronomical sums of taxpayer dollars to clean up the mess—money that might otherwise be spent on social programs or reducing the national debt. Secretary Brady suggested to the Senate Banking Committee that Congress could give the Treasury Department an open-ended appropriation to salvage the thrift industry. Such an open-ended credit line would mean that the Bush administration would not have to ask Congress for more money if the Treasury Department estimate of the bailout's price tag is too low—which it surely is. (Just a reminder: on Feb. 7, 1989, Bush unveiled a plan to save the S&L industry that he said would cost \$40 billion.) An administration S&L carte blanche would insure the Republicans against the embarrassment of an additional request of Congress during the 1992 presidential election.

Tough luck: According to Secretary Brady, thrifts have failed or are now failing because of two factors: the collapse of the '80s real-estate boom and rising interest rates. This analysis is specious. Thrifts have failed because Congress deregulated the S&L industry in 1982. This allowed an assortment of three-piece-suited sharks—mob figures, alleged CIA operatives and capitalist adventurers—to move in and, through a maze of interlocking bad loans, gut the federally insured S&L industry. Both the Reagan and Bush administrations allowed the looting to go unchecked through lax enforcement of federal laws and regulations. (And that is the charitable conclusion.) As FBI Director William Sessions told the House Banking Committee last month, the collapse of the nation's S&L industry is the result of a "pervasive pattern of fraudulent lending activity." He said, "Experience demonstrates that insider abuse is a major factor in almost all of our investigations involving failed financial institutions. I am referring to a wide range of illegal conduct by officers and directors that is detrimental to the safety and soundness of the very institutions they control." A former regulator with the Federal Home Bank Board, Joe Selby, put it this way to the committee: "In many cases, officers and majority stockholders developed a whole series of tactics to hide the losses. They would swap loans to hide losses, saying, 'I'll trade you my dead cow for your dead horse.'"

Neil Bush testifies: On the same day that Brady and Greenspan spoke to the Senate Banking Committee, the House Banking Committee had some questions for presidential son Neil Bush about dead-horse trading. Federal regulators are investigating possible conflicts of interest by Neil Bush, a former board member of Silverado Savings of Denver. The bailout of Silverado is going to cost taxpayers from \$1 billion to \$1.7 billion. The feds are particularly interested in young Bush's role in approving Silverado loans to two of his business partners. Two major borrowers at Silverado Savings, Kenneth Good and Bill Walters, were partners with Bush in his oil and gas venture, JNB Exploration. When JNB was set up in 1983, Walters invested \$150,000, Good \$10,000, and Bush \$100. As head of JNB Exploration, Bush earned an annual salary of \$75,000. After the business was set up a bank owned by Walters, Cherry Creek Bank in Denver, loaned JNB \$1.75 million. JNB defaulted on the loan and in a settlement repaid \$225,000 of the \$1.75 million borrowed. There are no published reports of JNB Exploration ever discovering any oil or gas. But the company's original investors apparently hit gold. After joining the board of Silverado, Bush subsequently voted to approve \$106 million in loans to Walters—loans that have since gone bad. Good, like Walters, also borrowed more than \$100 million from Silverado. The exact amount, along with the amount in default, remains unclear. Bush abstained from voting on the loans



Armed with a smile and spaghetti, Paul Wellstone seeks a Senate seat.

Greg H. Igeson

Paul Wellstone: setting standards

By Adam Platt

Paul Wellstone used to wrestle. Now, when he speaks to a crowd, the 126-pound college grappler in him fights its way to the surface. He paces, jumps, stretches out tensed, muscled arms as if to grab his opponent and hurl him to the mat. Problem is, Wellstone will need more than a sleeper hold to beat incumbent Minnesota Republican Sen. Rudy Boschwitz this November.

Wellstone is the favorite to receive the Democratic nomination to oppose the two-term Boschwitz. He looks golden despite meeting none of the criteria typically needed to run for high elected office in this state. He is not an attorney, a state bureaucrat or a wealthy man.

Wellstone is a 44-year-old Carlton College political science professor and organizer who has never held public office (he lost a 1982 race for state auditor). His net worth consists of a modest frame house and a 1986 LeBaron with more than 110,000 miles on it. He's banking on other, more priceless assets to carry him to Washington: a flair for oratory and a commitment to values that most elected Democrats are afraid to espouse.

"On a Minnesota level, Paul's what Jesse Jackson has been on a national level," says Peter Rachleff, a Macalester College history professor who has worked closely with Wellstone on labor issues. "Wherever there has been a struggle, Paul's been there. Farmers, workers, the homeless, abortion rights, economic conversion, plant closing—the list is endless."

"In 20 years of teaching at Carlton, he's produced more union organizers, community organizers and activists than any educator in the nation," continues Rachleff. "And all of them have a thoroughly grass-roots orientation."

Wellstone's community-based politics will either propel him past one of the state's most popular elected officials into the Senate or will condemn him for eternity as an also-ran—depending on who you listen to.

"I don't say it won't be difficult—running a grass-roots campaign—but we can't play by Boschwitz's rules and win," explains Wellstone, speaking over a supper of deli meats and tabouli in his Northfield

home. "That is what Democrats around the country do too often. You're supposed to raise the same money, hire the same pollsters, run the same ads."

Skeptics say Wellstone will have to follow that path to unseat Boschwitz, who has amassed a \$3 million war chest, 70 percent of it from out-of-state interests. So far Wellstone has raised \$120,000.

Boschwitz was elected to Walter Mondale's Senate seat in 1978 over Democratic ex-Gov. Wendell Anderson. He is puzzlingly popular. Minnesota's DFLers (the moniker stands for Democrat Farmer Labor) are galled that Boschwitz remains in favor despite yearly polls that show his lock-kneed Reaganite voting record is out of step with the values of the majority of the people who elected him. The average voter knows little of Boschwitz' political agenda. To most people their senator is the folksy TV pitchman for Plywood Minnesota, the lucrative family business. Boschwitz is also famous for his flavored milk. Each September voters and TV reporters line up at Rudy's milk bar at the Minnesota state fair. He'll sell you a root-beer milk in September for a vote in November.

"Boschwitz is one of the most clever politicians in the country," says Minneapolis DFL consultant Pat Forciea, who has yet to commit to a candidate. "He understands two things, fundraising and marketing. In 12 years, the guy's never had a tough race."

Cultivating roots: If, as expected, Wellstone gets the nomination at the state convention June 8-10, Minnesotans will be treated to a race the likes of which they've never seen. In this overwhelmingly Gentile state it will be a Jew for Jackson facing off against a Jew for Reagan.

The race will also test whether political prowess flows up from the grass roots or down from the TV tower. "What Wellstone intends to do," says Rachleff, "is run a new kind of campaign that goes around the party power structure to the grass roots. The people who have become apathetic about the political process will carry the day ... potentially."

Part of Wellstone's appeal is his affinity for the struggles of the average Minnesotan. "Paul's an idealist," Rachleff explains. "He holds up a mirror to grass-roots crowds and they see themselves in the best possible way. If you can motivate people to act

on their best qualities, that's marvelous. Paul's been doing it for a long time."

The son of Russian-Jewish immigrants and raised in Washington, D.C., Wellstone says he learned his political ethics from his "intellectually political" father, a writer for the U.S. Information Agency. Wellstone developed a taste for community organizing in 1969 after completing his dissertation at the University of North Carolina. Wellstone says his dissertation, titled "Black Militancy O Why?", caused him to "experience a real falling out of the values of research as an end in itself. It didn't change people's lives."

The following year he and his wife Sheila moved to Northfield, where he had gotten a job teaching political science and coaching wrestling at Carlton College, a highly regarded liberal arts college in southern Minnesota. They raised three children, one a farmer, one a college student and one who will be a high school senior this fall. Sheila now works as a librarian at Northfield High.

On the farm: It was in Northfield that Wellstone got down to the business of "changing lives," or at least trying to. Active in the struggles of the Midwestern farmer, he was a catalyst in the fight to keep power companies from seizing their land for utility lines. Later he helped organize the Groundswell movement, which worked to organize economically beleaguered family farmers into a potent political force.

The labor battle at the Hormel meat-packing plant in Austin, Minn., came next. It was a struggle where Wellstone was often at loggerheads with the DFL leadership, of which he is also a part. Wellstone has twice been elected to the Democratic National Committee. In 1988 he co-chaired first the Jackson and then the Dukakis campaigns in Minnesota.

The paradoxical nature of his DFL role reflects the complex nature of Minnesota politics. The state that brought you Hubert Humphrey and Fritz Mondale currently sports two Republican senators and a Democratic governor who was elected in 1982 on an anti-abortion and anti-gun-control platform. Granted, Minnesota has one of the most generous social-welfare infrastructures in the nation. Some have gone so far as to call it the Sweden of the Midwest. But the state's social-democratic tendencies are under constant assault from both the Republicans—Independent Republicans, as they call themselves up here—and the talk-radio crowd who want lower taxes.

More significantly, the state's rural areas, where half of Minnesotans live, are conservative on social issues. Outstate, as it is called, is a land of proper, circumspect Lutheran farmers and gun-toting Iron Range Catholics. Their representatives try to dominate state politics. The Reagan social agenda sold particularly well in places like Walnut Grove and Biwabik.

The state Democratic leadership is ambivalent about Wellstone. "Paul's greatest support is at the grass-roots level," says political consultant Forciea. "Many in the DFL hierarchy are not comfortable with Paul because he is either too liberal or not an attorney or supports campaign reform. Paul's going around the leadership."

Rachleff, who lacks faith in either political party, puts it more bluntly. "In the last decade, upper-class economic interests have taken over the party. Look, we had a Democratic governor send in the National Guard to break the Hormel strike. They're riding high on the hog by exploiting farmers and workers. I don't believe that in the long run Paul will be able to co-exist with these people."

But Wellstone is not inclined to align himself outside of the two-party system. "The DFL can and should represent a progressive politics," he says. "I think the way to create that is from within."

He denies being out of step with either his party

or its voters. "I'm not making an end run here," he says. "Some of the party regulars are my biggest supporters. I've worked for this party and its issues tirelessly for 20 years." That political history, Wellstone believes, will be his trump card, not his Achilles' heel.

"I'm running because I have become impatient with what the Democratic Party has been about in the '80s," Wellstone continues. "People who believe in progressive politics and justice issues need to affect the political climate, not wait for it to change. Since 1972, the labor, environment, women's rights, and peace and justice communities have gone their separate ways. This campaign has them all."

"I'm taking the campaign to the people," he continues. "In every town we're going to have a spaghetti dinner. It'll be low cost and people will talk, discuss the issues and understand each other."

Wellstone's issues in the Minnesota of the '90s are longtime Democratic standards: more resources for child care and education, a national health-care system, protection of the right of choice, greater federal regulation of the environment and a re-evaluation of federal farm policy. Funding for his programs would come through military budget cuts made possible by the changing global political climate.

He is adamant that the burden of expanded social spending be borne by the rich, not the middle class. "I'm not going to keep people from paying their mortgages to feed the hungry," says Wellstone. "But when Democrats bought into the notion that 28 percent was the highest tax rate this country could stand, they forfeited their birthright and electability. If you have a \$200,000 income, you should pay a higher rate of taxes."

In an anti-tax climate, this will not be a winning theme for Wellstone, unless he can touch voters with his impassioned oratory and the commonality of his experience. To many pundits, he is simply unelectable. "Sometimes I wish we had this message in a different package," says Wyman Spano, co-editor of the respected newsletter *Politics in Minnesota*. "Paul's so strident, and these days good rhetoricians aren't valued, either here or in Washington."

And he's heard: And it is true that while in New York Wellstone might be seen as just another loud-mouthed Jew, in Minnesota he stands out like white butter. "In a world of blow-dried candidates, there's no one as honest and frank as Paul," says consultant Forciea. "He makes people nervous the way Hubert Humphrey made people nervous in the '40s and '50s talking about civil and economic rights. He's very in-your-face. He's not out of step with the party, though. He just articulates his ideas better than most."

One thing is certain: Paul Wellstone is a politician who hasn't been bought off by anybody. His campaign of ideas and issues is about more than just another seat in the Senate. Wellstone has the tools to break the apathy that is choking American politics.

"Even if it means losing [this time], Paul will do the right thing," says Rachleff. "He is the only political candidate that I have ever trusted in my life."

So Paul Wellstone will head out on his spaghetti circuit, taking aim at the senator who hawks flavored milk. If a campaign of candor and hope can triumph over one of facade and PAC money, the '90s will be off to a better start than the '80s.

To Wellstone, winning in November depends on winning the voter's trust. "Vaclav Havel told our Congress that the highest order of patriotism is to speak honestly to the people about problems and issues you're confronted with," he says. "They may have listened to him, but I'm not sure they heard him."

Adam Platt is a staff writer for the *Twin Cities Reader*, a Minneapolis St. Paul weekly newspaper.

to Good, but he did request that the thrift provide Good with a \$900,000 line of credit to fund oil exploration in Argentina by one of Good's companies and JNB Exploration. The credit line was approved by Silverado but never drawn on. However, prior to that approval Good gave Bush \$100,000 for what Bush calls an investment in a "high risk" commodities pool. Bush said he never repaid that loan because Good had forgiven it. "The loan was never meant to be repaid unless there was a success," Bush told the House Banking Committee. "I know it sounds a little fishy, but I've heard this happen before." Neil Bush currently sits on the board of Good's Florida real-estate company, Gulfstream Land and Development, which is slowly sinking in a mire of debt. Good, like his friend Bush, is a good Republican. In 1988, he helped President Bush's re-election effort by contributing at least \$100,000 to the campaign. That gift bought him membership in a select group of GOP contributors known as "Team 100." After his father received the Republican nomination in August 1988, Bush resigned from the Silverado board. Earlier that year he had moved into a \$500,000 house in Denver's posh Cherry Hills neighborhood. Bush bought the house from Larry Mizel, the head of M.D.C. Holdings, a home-building company that during the '80s had borrowed a total of \$250 million from Silverado. Mizel, a prominent Colorado Re-



publican, is credited with raising more than \$1 million for the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign. For his part, Bush says he has never done anything wrong. Describing the conflict of interest charges leveled against him by the Office of Thrift Management as "frivolous," Bush told the committee, "The fact that they are being pursued are baffling to me. ... I didn't act dishonestly. To fingerpoint and look for crooks where there are none is not a good service to this country."

Coverup? During the two days of House hearings on the Silverado failure, the Democrats asked tough questions and the Republicans defended the integrity of their president's son. Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA) described Neil as "a talented young man who was lured into becoming an outside director [of a corrupt S&L]." He said, "It is inconceivable Neil Bush would do anything wrong." Not taken in by young Bush's gee-whiz demeanor, the Democrats tried to discover why the Justice Department had not investigated Silverado, given that, beginning in 1986, the Office of Thrift Supervision had informed the Justice Department of possible criminal activity at Silverado at least 11 times. The Justice Department was not alone in ignoring the advice of thrift regulators. Kermit Mowbray, the president of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in Topeka, Kan., over the years repeatedly stymied efforts by the Office of Thrift Supervision to take action against Silverado. Writing in *National Mortgage News*, Stephen Pizzo recounted Mowbray's final attempt to delay the closing of Silverado: "In the face of Topeka Federal Home Loan Bank Board inaction, the Colorado commissioner contacted Mowbray on Oct. 21, 1988, and advised him that if federal authorities did not act soon, he was prepared to close Silverado on October 31. Mowbray sent a letter to the commissioner asking that any action by the state to close Silverado be held off for 45 days. On November 4, the state commissioner agreed to extend the deadline until December 16. On November 9, one day after the Bush presidential victory, Mowbray formally sought approval from Washington to close Silverado."

Next issue: Mounting congressional outrage at Justice Department inaction.

Ho-ho Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh was named "Man of the Century" by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on May 19, the centennial of his birth. UNESCO declared in its resolution that the late president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is "a symbol of the common struggles of people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress."

Don't ID us, we won't ID you

Some Illinois Bell customers may have to continue to pay for their right to privacy unless the American Civil Liberties Union sees to it that phone companies are legally bound to offer "call blocking" in conjunction with the high-tech "Caller ID." Automatic Number Identification services like Caller ID provide the numbers—listed or unlisted—of all incoming calls. Although Illinois Bell is marketing the technology as a "convenience" and a deterrent to phone harassment, the ACLU says that failure to offer call blocking may jeopardize the safety of psychiatrists, social workers, health-care personnel, undercover cops, victims of domestic violence and users of anonymous hotline services. Customers with unpublished numbers now must buy the right not to have their numbers disclosed under any circumstance.

A mediocre dispute

The problem with National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funding isn't obscenity; it's mediocrity, says a May 21 *Wall Street Journal* editorial. "Too much of the art produced in the U.S. now, much of it with direct or indirect public subsidy, is simply bad art," states the pro-grant revision and state control, anti-Mapplethorpe tirade. "We are not reopening the familiar debate over modernity and American society. Modern, or avant-garde work, is not the problem. The problem is that the artists and intellectuals who cry 'free expression' to disallow any forceful critique of their enterprise have achieved so little with their freedom." The editorial goes on to say that the NEA is mainly a Washington bureaucracy and that hundreds of artists, writers and their sponsors have simply become its dependent beneficiaries.

Multilingual dream

Government employees in Arizona can now converse in a foreign language at work without fear of prosecution. The state's "English Only" law, passed in 1988, has been declared unconstitutional by U.S. District Court Judge Paul Rosenblatt. The law, similar to one passed by 15 other states, designates English as Arizona's official language and bars the use of other languages in state and local government affairs. Rosenblatt's ruling marks the first major defeat of the English Only movement, reports Richard Castro, executive director of the Denver Agency for Human Rights and Community Relations. "The court in Arizona was merely reaffirming the fact that the American dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is not dreamt in English only."

Women in high places

The Church of Ireland, renowned conservative bastion, voted May 17 to ordain six women priests, reports the *National Catholic Reporter*. The slim vote puts Ireland one step ahead of England in the equal-rights race—England endorsed a similar measure last November but won't vote on it until 1992. Only five other Anglican churches (Canada, New Zealand, Brazil, Hong Kong and the U.S.) out of 28 worldwide allow women priests.

Central America's Lebanon

In a classic form of doublespeak, Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro late last month announced a "peace and reconciliation" agreement that would allow the contra rebels to form their own police force. The accord, which details plans for the guerrillas' continued demobilization, also provides for the formation of a contra police force under the direction of the Interior Ministry. "This is an extraordinary development, and it could prove very dangerous," one European diplomat told the Associated Press on the condition of anonymity. "What you end up with is two armed forces. That's not good." Reynaldo Antonio Tefel, a Sandinista deputy in the National Assembly, warned that the move could turn Nicaragua into another Lebanon. "In this manner," he said, "instead of distancing ourselves from the war, we'd be getting closer to it."

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.



The old guard: SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Once again, elections in the Dominican Republic have ended in crisis. Results from the May 16 match between 83-year-old President Joaquin Balaguer (pictured above) and 80-year-old Juan Bosch—two figures who have dominated Dominican politics for the past three decades—remain unclear. Bosch, and now the Catholic Church, accuse the government of manipulating the vote count. Meanwhile, the blind autocrat continues to defend his slim official lead with increasingly overt support from the military.

Brazen gay bashing and verbatim hate

HARTFORD, CONN.—Times just aren't what they used to be for Connecticut's elected state representatives. You can't stand up and call black people "niggers" during legislative debates and you've got to watch your wisecracks about women.

At least you can still openly bash gays to block laws protecting homosexuals from violent attacks.

Witness the recently concluded state legislative session here. Some good old-fashioned anti-fag bile gushed from the gullets of popularly elected state representatives—on the floor of the ornate state House of Representatives. In public. On the record. In a liberal Northern state. Without any apparent repercussions.

At issue was a bill to increase penalties for hate crimes, in which bigotry moves the attacker to punish someone for being different. Like being non-white. Or Jewish.

Or gay.

The bill didn't promise formal civil rights for gays—that one was squelched last year. It simply added penalties for violent hate crimes.

The bill did pass. After expressing reservations about specific protections for gays, conservative Democratic Gov. Bill O'Neill signed it. But not before legislators from both parties teed off on gays. The flood of homophobic invective made even opponents of gay civil-rights laws wonder aloud whether anti-gay hatred is more dangerous than they had originally believed.

During the debate on the floor, some bill opponents spun horror stories about being almost touched

by gays or being hissed at by gay-rights advocates, as they argued that instead of protecting homosexuals society needs protection from them. Some bill supporters even felt the need to criticize gays as sort of an apology. A few verbatim highlights follow:

Republican Eugene Migliaro: "They're trying to force this General Assembly and the people in the state of Connecticut to accept their way of life. It's not an accepted social norm. It never will be, in my book."

"I'm telling you people right here and now, don't take them lightly. They're capable of anything, and if anybody needs the protection, we do; the churches and everything else in this bill, we should protect...."

"You know, they don't like to be called names. Anything you say about them, they're a protected class. You can't say 'queer.' You can't say this, you can't say that, because this bill will protect them, possibly open a door for a libel suit, harassment. And they want to use that and they will and they'll provoke you.... [If] you put a hand on them does that constitute bodily contact? And believe me, as you know, back a couple of years ago, a year ago or so in a hearing, that I had three or four of them tried to provoke me, and they came that close to doing it. That close. So you've got to be careful."

"The point I'm bringing out is you're not dealing with people who are defenseless. You're not dealing with people who can't take care of themselves...."

"Don't be misled. You want to protect somebody? Protect your kids and protect yourself, because these

people, believe me, are a threat to society. They definitely are."

Republican Anthony Nania: "I'm a Christian legislator. I'm a Catholic.... We're going to say on the one hand that we condemn hatred and bigotry when it comes to churches, and we're going to say on the other hand that we affirm a behavior that God, if the Bible in fact speaks for him, has, without exception, condemned—under the Old Testament, by penalty of immediate death; in the New Testament by penalty of subsequent death...."

"The reason why this, not just state, not just nation, this civilization has discriminated against—and I'm not going to call it gay, because I don't think there's anything gay about it—against sodomy, if for not the reason that it's against the other law, God's law, but there's a reason it ought to be against man's law. You can't allow everyone to do everything they want to do without having consequences. In case you haven't noticed, things are falling apart. We are a tolerant people...."

"Governments can work, but they won't work if you won't take the responsibility you have for making right judgment. Homosexuality is not only a sin against God, it's bad for you, too, society."

Democrat Ernest Newton: "No, [supporting the bill] doesn't make me like gays or lesbians because I feel they are being discriminated against...."

"No, I don't feel like those kind of things—I'm a gay liker and I'm a lesbian friend. I don't think of myself like that because it's wrong, but you know what? God will make that determination, not Ernest Newton."

—Paul Bass



ECONOMY

Disproving the deregulation myth

By David Moberg

WHAT HAS AIRLINE DEREGULATION wrought? New airlines and competition producing cheap fares and great service, as promised by both its liberal and conservative partisans? Or a new era of concentrated control that short-changes passengers on both price and quality while bludgeoning employees?

On the surface, deregulation appears successful: air fares per passenger mile have fallen since 1978, when deregulation began. And a comparison of specific routes between pairs of cities before and after deregulation

suggests there is more competition among airlines than ever before.

But a new study by University of Denver law professor Paul Stephen Dempsey, issued by the liberal Economic Policy Institute, unmasks those claims and makes a strong case for the failure of deregulation due to fundamental conceptual flaws.

In the decades preceding deregulation, average fares fell (even during the '70s, when fuel prices jumped as a result of OPEC price hikes) as a result of technological improvements. Much of the drop in fares during the early '80s, however, resulted not from deregulation but from a drop in fuel prices. To accommodate fuel costs and inflation, fares dropped 2.7 percent per year from 1967 to

1977, Dempsey reports, and an average of 2 percent annually after deregulation. But fares that dropped sharply in the early years of deregulated price wars have recently been heading back up. As a result, Dempsey concludes, in 1989 passengers paid 2.6 percent more per mile than if pre-deregulation trends had continued.

High-flying theories: Deregulation theorists held two somewhat contradictory views: first, they claimed there was no significant economy of scale or natural monopoly in the airline business. And second, even if either did exist, it would be easy for new companies to enter markets and contest monopoly overpricing.

The theorists were wrong on both counts,

argues Dempsey. Seats are perishable commodities—they can't be sold after the plane takes off—and the marginal cost for each additional seat is almost nothing. Consequently, there is a strong incentive to fill planes via predatory pricing.

The mirror image of such destructive competition is the concentrated control over the market that has emerged from the shakeout. As airlines shifted from direct flights to a hub-and-spoke route system, they gained control over hubs: only four hub airports are not dominated by a single airline, reports Dempsey. The smaller upstart airlines went bankrupt or were taken over and, after a decade of deregulation, the market share of the eight largest airlines rose from 71.3 percent to 79.2 percent. The slight countervailing increase in average competition on routes brings little ben-

Continued on page 22

Changing the rules of the airline-ownership game

While the debate has raged over whether consumers gained from airline deregulation, there's been no dispute over who has lost: the employees.

Increasingly, airline unions have realized that in order to defend their members they must battle over ownership and control of airlines such as Eastern, United and TWA.

Eastern's unions pioneered efforts in the mid-'80s to gain ownership stake in exchange for concessions, but management sold the airline to raider Frank Lorenzo, rejecting the unions' offer to buy it. In March 1989, the Machinist union, joined by the pilots and flight attendants, struck Eastern to stop concessions and get rid of Lorenzo. But Lorenzo took cover in bankruptcy court. The unions sought a new owner and were willing to make big concessions for an ownership share, but Lorenzo blocked the deals and stalled on reorganization plans while Eastern lost more than \$1 billion.

Finally, and much too late, everyone else realized what the unions knew all along: that Lorenzo was "incompetent," in the words of federal bankruptcy Judge Burton Lifland. The bankruptcy court examiner found that Lorenzo's Texas Air had repeatedly defrauded Eastern (as the unions had long claimed). Lorenzo's promise of completely repaying creditors shrunk to a loophole-ridden promise of paying 25 cents on the dollar—with al-

most no contribution from Texas Air. The creditors revolted, and on April 18 Lifland appointed a trustee to take control of the airline.

Now trustee Martin Shugrue has begun negotiating with the unions over their contracts and their return to work. Without settling the labor disputes, Shugrue has no chance of reviving Eastern, whose best bet is a purchase by Northwest. But if Shugrue can't show progress by mid-summer, creditors may take the money from the slated sale of Eastern's Latin American routes to American and liquidate the airline. Lorenzo's closely guarded Texas Air may be forced to cough up enough money to cover its previous looting of Eastern and some portion of nearly \$1 billion in unfunded pension obligations.

United they stand: United pilots have been trying to buy the airline since they struck in 1987. But after the pilots and management bid \$6.75 billion to head off a takeover by raider Marvin Davis last fall, the Machinists balked because of both the high price and their philosophical objections to worker ownership. The bidders couldn't raise the necessary capital and, after the deal collapsed, Coniston Partners, speculators who held 12 percent of the depressed United stock, insisted that management go into debt to pay shareholders more.

Union leaders last winter resolved their

differences and offered to buy United, while Coniston threatened a proxy fight to remove the board of directors. On April 9 the board agreed to sell United to employees for \$4.38 billion.

The three unions agreed to contracts that represent a concession investment of \$2 billion in wage and benefit contributions compared to what they might otherwise have received, but no employee suffers a very big cut. Although the price is much lower, United will still be heavily in debt and has wasted as much as \$3 billion during takeover battles while investing relatively little. The debt markets are shakier, some lenders are wary after the last bid, and there may be hesitations about a labor-initiated deal, especially one with no up-front equity investment. But last week the buyout got a boost when Chrysler Vice Chairman Gerald Greenwald agreed to head the company.

But if the deal goes through—an aggressive, union-initiated employee takeover of a financially strong, technologically advanced, publicly held company—United will be by far the largest employee-owned company in the U.S. (Avis rental car is currently the largest.) Although each union and the non-contract employees will have one director on the 15-member board, the unions will retain special voting power over certain major corporate decisions. And although the pilots appear to be more enthusiastic

than the machinists—many of whom remain ambivalent about the deal—both recognize the need to keep the company free from outside speculative, destructive forces.

Transworld turbulence: Machinists at TWA are also preparing to bid for that airline. Raider Carl Icahn saddled the company with a \$2.8 billion debt during his 1986 takeover and later private leveraged buyout. Icahn has extracted more than \$1 billion from TWA employees, but because the airline failed to invest in new planes its income is plunging and its market value is approximately negative \$400 million. Icahn is still attempting to exact more labor concessions and has simultaneously raised prospects of a piecemeal sale of assets, a sale of some large portion of the company to America West, or even a sale of the entire airline to the pilots' union.

The Machinists apparently are proposing that employees take the airline and its problems out of Icahn's hands, paying him nothing but leaving him with the debt and other holdings like USX Corp. stock, worth up to \$1.6 billion.

The airline ownership game has clearly changed, especially in light of the success of the United deal. In the best interests of both employees and their airlines, workers and their unions are ready to fight hard and imaginatively over corporate control.

—D.M.

By Paul Hockenos

TIMISOARA, ROMANIA

Democracy movement falls on troubled times

FOUR SHORT MONTHS AFTER THE DICTATORSHIP'S fall, Romania's voters legitimized its heir with overwhelming majorities. The lopsided May 20 victory by the ruling Front for National Salvation (FNS) is a severe blow to the Romanian democracy movement. Out of step with a national consciousness that is permeated by the logic of the old regime, its organizers must now rethink their long-term strategy. Extremist tendencies within the movement's ranks, however, jeopardize its potential as a progressive force in the country's fragile civil society.

Since the so-called "revolution," a strong ultranationalist, Christian direction has come to the fore. The trend undermines the emergence of a democratic culture that could challenge the dictatorship's legacy as well as right-wing elements within the opposition itself. The region's national dynamic, still nascent in its development, provides the movement's reactionary forces with fertile ground to broaden their base.

The diverse movement encompasses a range of anti-Communist allies—the bulk of them young and educated, most with urban backgrounds—and is a continuation of the revolution hijacked by the former old guard as President Nicolae Ceausescu attempted to flee the country. At first only a few hundred students remained in the streets to protest the FNS' specious seizure of power. But the numbers quickly swelled when the FNS moved from a provisional coalition of dissidents and intellectuals to a party dominated by former apparatchiks, with the old state mechanisms still behind it.

By early May, daily demonstrations packed Bucharest's University Square. Hunger strikers and encamped protesters occupied the central intersection, draping the area with anti-Front banners and artwork. Around their sunburned necks hung placards that read *golani*, or hooligan—the label FNS President Ion Iliescu has assigned them.

The *golans'* chief objective, to ban former Securitate—members of Ceausescu's secret police force—and nomenclatura from the election, was a constructive attempt to push for a clean break with the past. With astounding regularity since December, the Front's compromised position and neo-communist *weltanschauung* betrayed its Stalinist heritage.

In their first try at grass-roots organizing and coalition-building, the revolution's flag bearers rallied around the Timisoara Proclamation, a petition demanding the purge of the old apparatus as well as civil rights and reconciliation with the national minorities. The document amassed several million signatures along with the support of hundreds of political and cultural organizations.

Yet the movement, concentrated in Bucharest and Timisoara, has been unable to reach the rural population or establish broad solidarity with the working class. "Twenty million people woke up December 24 with Iliescu as a Christmas present," one demonstrator noted. For those who never took to the streets, the marginally improved food and energy supplies appeared the tangible result of the Front's takeover after Ceausescu's holiday execution.

In the countryside, concepts of democracy and political opposition are as uninformed as before the revolution. The "bad father"

Ceausescu was simply replaced by the "good father" Iliescu.

But the Front's years are numbered, as Romania orients itself to a political culture that is more in sync with its past than the FNS reform communism. The fledgling democracy movement could serve as one alternative. At the same time, the new emphasis on nationalist-religious values points in another direction—one with wide potential appeal here. The ideology has deep roots in Romania and found its clearest expression in the movements of the interwar period that culminated in the fascist regime of the '40s.

Trouble in the movement: The democratic movement has several troubling features. For example, no positive program is under discussion to replace the despised Communists. "Down with the Front! Down with the Securitate! Down with Communism!" the chants and speeches repeat over and

ROMANIA

over. Other themes, including environmental, economic and social issues, are conspicuously absent from debate.

The movement's one-track campaign has prevented a constructive social dialogue from opening new space within the public forum. Intellectuals and student leaders, for example, have yet to meet. The preoccupation with "anti" themes has bred a hate psychology that could easily focus on less-deserving victims once the Front's day has come.

Though still beneath the surface, this ideological vacuum has been filled by the conservative values that were suppressed—as well as manipulated—during the Stalinist era. "Greater Romania" and "Transylvania and Bessarabia are Romanian Lands" are the few cries that are pro-anything interspersed among the usual slogans. Behind the democratic facade, the demonstrators' animosity toward the government is no less fueled by the Front's comparatively mild nationalist rhetoric and secularism.

The religious outburst followed the revolution in reaction to the amoral politics of the dictatorship. "It's fashionable now to be religious," said one student, echoing the newfound faith throughout the opposition. While the converts distance themselves from the Orthodox Church hierarchy that collaborated with the fascist and communist governments alike, they embrace the implicitly anti-modern, authoritarian ethic of the church philosophy.

The nationalist impulse surfaced in full force after the April events in Tirgu Mures, where ethnic Hungarians and Romanians clashed, leaving three people dead. The violence unleashed a storm of nationalism and anti-Hungarian sentiment, encouraged by the distorted coverage of every major newspaper. The blind patriotism is the same that Ceausescu so skillfully nurtured—only now it has room for concrete expression.

The "Hungary complex" is most acute in the more ethnically homogeneous eastern regions of Moldavia and Wallachia that lack

the experience of multi-ethnic co-existence. The vast majority of Bucharest activists are convinced that Transylvanian Hungarians have separatist designs backed by the Hungarian government. The distrust has perpetuated a Romanian chauvinism directed against the minority and hostility toward their demands for cultural rights.

The nationalist fervor has also drawn the movement closer to extremist political groups. Most of the protesters support the center-right National Liberal Party. Simultaneously, roughly half the students in Bucharest express sympathy with the neo-fascist organization Vatra Romeneasca. The Transylvania-based organization poses as a Romanian cultural society while espousing a crude xenophobic nationalism aimed at the ethnic Hungarians. In terminology characteristic of Vatra Romeneasca, students in the halls of the Bucharest Student League headquarters casually refer to Hungary as "Horthy land," associating it with the fascist regime of Miklós Horthy, under which Hungary occupied northern Transylvania from 1940 to 1944.

Calls for the return of Soviet Moldavia, or Bessarabia, annexed from Romania under the Hitler-Stalin pact, constitute a second phase in the country's nationalist dynamic. Pan-Romania demands—which potentially include part of northern Bulgaria—have picked up momentum in the opposition movement. Now that the republic's break with the Soviet Union appears only a matter of time, the "Greater Romania" yearnings could spell the Front's downfall. In light of his old friendship and ideological solidarity with the Soviet leader, Iliescu will find himself between Scylla and Charybdis as the reunification pathos takes its course.

The mouths of babes: Perhaps most alarming is the strength of the ultraright in the student movement's top leadership. Student League President Marion Munteanu and newspaper editor Sorin Dragan, along with

The movement has been unable to reach the rural population or establish broad solidarity with the working class.

other members of the Student League executive committee, embrace unabashed nationalist views.

Dragan, 22, a monarchist and active Vatra Romeneasca member, argues that nationalism is necessary to restore the Romanian pride and identity crushed by the Communists. Only a return to such traditional rural values of the Romanian *volk* as family, God and nation will revive national morality, he says.

Nationalist movements have been the most anti-communist of the century, says Dragan in the offices of *Glasul* (The Voice).

Across the room, his assistant editor wears a World War I Iron Cross medallion on his chest. "The Front calls us Legionnaires," he says, referring to the fascist movement of the '30s. "To me, that's not an insult but flattery. If I had to choose between communism and Hitlerism, I would avoid communism. At least Hitler had the decency to speak directly."

While Dragan refrains from an explicit endorsement of fascism, he draws on the ideals of the Romanian fascist movements for the student movement's direction. The nationalism of the period was positive and intellectual in principle, he insists, forced into extremism and an alliance with Germany as a result of its international isolation. "One can't blame the ideas themselves for the extreme form they took," he explains. "It's said that Jews and Gypsies were killed. Even if that's true, I still support the movement." An estimated 400,000 Romanian Jews and at least 100,000 Gypsies perished.

The editor's skewed sense of history is symptomatic throughout the country. Although the average student would stop short of Dragan's position, most see the '30s as a democratic model for the movement to build upon. The demagogic content of *Glasul*, with a circulation of 50,000, has yet to provoke a single letter of criticism. A graphic in the most recent issue depicts a Hungarian on a Hungarian horse leading a charge toward Bessarabia.

The League's tone has alienated minority students. Many ethnic Hungarians and Germans have disassociated themselves with the organization, narrowing even further the scope of pluralism.

A better example: The movement's emphasis is somewhat different in Timisoara, the country's westernmost city, in which the democratic resistance first found its voice. Timisoara and the surrounding Banat region boast a relatively harmonious, multicultural society of Romanians, Hungarians, Serbs and Germans. Through its propinquity to the West, democratic and merchantist traditions give it an identity distinct from the eastern regions.

In the three-week occupation of Opera Square before the election, workers and professionals outnumbered students. An atmosphere of tolerance was evident as people gathered every evening to discuss and debate issues. A variety of citizens' groups are active, addressing different social problems through community initiatives. The "Greater Romania" sentiment is absent, at least from demonstrations.

The nationwide movement must follow Timisoara's example—as it has in the past—if it is to formulate a progressive vision for the future. The democratic opposition, however, confronts its course with no anti-capitalist, anti-Stalinist left, with nationalism on the rise and with an assortment of opportunist parties bent only on ousting the Front.

Chances seem remote for the broad social dialogue—between government and opposition, among the nationalities and within the movement itself—that could build upon the existing structures of civil society. The Front and its democratically sanctioned security apparatus could well crack down on the activists and propel them further along a reactionary, perhaps violent, path. The spirit of Timisoara has defied all odds before—its enlightenment is critical again to safeguard the revolution's legacy. □

By Lesley Cissell

AS HE SHAVES IN THE MORNING, SARINUSSEIBEH has an ongoing dialogue with himself, he says, on the topic all his friends are talking about: just where is the *intifada*—the Palestinian uprising—going?

Nusseibeh, a Palestinian philosophy professor at Bir Zeit University in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, is philosophical about the fact that he cannot definitively answer his own question. The best he can do is analyze and react to events in the 30-month-old struggle, predicting nuances or possible changes along the way.

Just as Robert Frost took the road "less traveled," Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip embarked on a journey two and a half years ago that only those who have lived through popular revolts like the downfall of Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu can fully understand.

The only predictable element in the struggle is ongoing self-sacrifice and suffering. The only definitive answer is that it will continue.

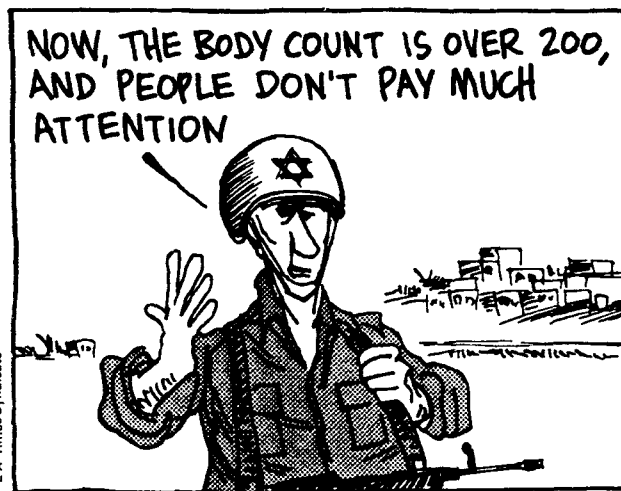
With the May 20 massacre of seven Palestinian workers by a "deranged" Israeli, the subsequent killing of a dozen more and the wounding of another 700 by the Israeli army, the Palestinians had yet another chance to analyze and react. The day of the massacre, Nusseibeh and several of his friends from all factions of the Palestinian movement launched a hunger strike at the Red Cross headquarters in East Jerusalem in an attempt to call attention to the need for international protection of the Palestinian population.

"The massacre was a turning point in the *intifada*, and it emphasized that there cannot possibly be a turning back, especially since changes within Israeli society and the expected Israeli government do not present any hope of a compromise regarding a solution to the situation," says Simone Kuttab, a striker and chemistry professor at Bir Zeit University. Kuttab sees the massacre at Rishon Le-Zion as pivotal because it represents an unmasking of the intent of the Israeli government and of growing Israeli extremism. "All statements which have been issued by local institutions, by national figures, by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, comments by people in the streets, all say it is part of the racist policy," says Kuttab. "Israeli society is moving to the extreme. It is part of a larger behavior pattern which is part of occupation."

Navigating an uprising: In their charting of a course for the *intifada*, many Palestinian analysts see more of a focus on strategy than in the past. "They [Palestinians] may raise the level of violence and antagonize themselves rather than reacting to it," says political scientist Ziad Abu Amr, a Palestinian from the Gaza Strip. "The Palestinians, under certain circumstances, may escalate the level of violence without being directly provoked, but as an expression of their frustration. The question is whether this will become the *modus vivendi* or only one component of the total struggle."

Until now, the leadership of the *intifada* has chosen to wage the struggle in a primarily peaceful manner. The *intifada* has been characterized by non-violent strikes, civil disobedience and symbolic stone-throwing. But after 30 months, more than 800 deaths and tens of thousands of injuries, the frustration and restlessness are so palpable they could be cut with a knife.

"We've gone through two and a half years



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Charting the *intifada*'s future course

of self-restraint," says Nusseibeh. "We have, through this hunger strike, crowned the process of self-restraint, this method of non-violence, to support our message of peace to both Israel and the international community—and if the international community slaps us in the face by not responding, then there will be no place for it among the Palestinians. The efforts of the Palestinians or the anger that will be created will simply be directed toward struggle and sacrifice."

At the moment, Palestinians are in a wait-and-see mode, says Maher Abukhater, managing editor of East Jerusalem's *Al-Fajr*, the only English weekly in the Palestinian community. "The PLO and the *intifada* leadership are obviously expecting something to come out on the international level," says Abukhater, like pressure on Israel and the U.S. from other countries such as the Soviet Union. "They [*intifada* leadership] think Israel cannot go on forever rejecting any kind of peace settlement. As long as the PLO still believes there is some international initiative, there is no need to change the current course or escalate the *intifada*," adds Abukhater.

Key in the struggle is the perception of a continuing political process. As long as there is a belief that the international community—particularly the U.S.—is going to move on the Palestinians' behalf and push forward a political process aimed at achieving peace, the Palestinian leadership is keen to maintain its current non-violent course. But with that comes the implicit warning that if the U.S. and the rest of the world do not move quickly enough, the leadership will have to respond to its constituency in the streets and face the fact that there is little hope left in the peace process. No one doubts this would mean a return to the use of arms, both defensively and offensively.

"The street [as the actual *intifada* movement is called] will do whatever the leadership tells them," says Abukhater. "If it were up to the street, they would have carried arms a long time ago, because they are bearing most of the burden."

Palestinians are waiting, as is the U.S. gov-

ernment, to see what kind of Israeli government—Labor or Likud—comes to power. They also are waiting for a definitive decision by the U.N. Security Council on whether or not to send international observers to the Occupied Territories to serve as a buffer between the local population and the Israeli army.

Both of these issues, says Abukhater, are crucial to predicting the future course of the

MIDDLE EAST

intifada. "If we get a Likud government with Ariel Sharon as defense minister, then we will know it is a war Cabinet and non-violent moves won't make any difference."

Adds Nusseibeh, "If we have a negative response from the Security Council...this will constitute a breaking point in our relationship with the U.S."

Hungry for defense: Recent events at the hunger strikers' encampment indicate that significant numbers of the street have given up on U.N. resolutions and action within the international community. They simply want to defend themselves against a well-oiled Israeli military machine.

On several occasions, groups of Palestinian youth have visited the encampment and discussed with peace activist Faisal Hussein the necessity of renewing the armed struggle. One group of young men even presented him with a petition demanding that they be allowed to use arms. But Hussein promptly tore up the petition, condemning violence as a defense against the Israeli occupation.

What is clear from the daily confrontations at the encampment is the growing democratization of Palestinian society. The youth confront the hunger strikers—a great many of them university professors—with the knowledge that since the beginning of the *intifada* and since the Israeli closure of Palestinian universities, the street has been turned into a school, an open forum for debate and the exchange of ideas.

But while the street has thus far gone along with the Palestinian leadership, they are giv-

ing notice that the leaders will be held more accountable for making tactical decisions from now on.

Political hopscotch: The Palestinian leadership is now in a position of "trying to hold on to its politics," says Abukhater, but events like those of the past weeks cause the political process itself to lose more and more credibility. "There has been lots of backward movement and regression in the peace process rather than advancing," says Abukhater. "A lot of factors contribute to a sense of Palestinian frustration—the kind that existed before the *intifada*. The Security Council cannot take a firm decision on what to do about Israel. The U.S. is the same way. It says something and the next day it cools off and retreats from what it has said. It reflects a weakness on the U.S.' behalf.... So, it is a feeling that all the sacrifices of the last 30 months are not paying off the way we thought they would."

For now the youth are content to express their frustration to the striking leadership. But if the current course does not "pay off," the day when the street takes over may not be far away. Kuttab sees the development of the street as the *intifada*'s biggest achievement. It is "building a new generation, and it is going to lead," he says. "We can't stop its development. We are building academics from people in the street now."

PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat said in his May 23 speech to the United Nations General Assembly in Geneva that the region is in the last quarter of an hour awaiting peace. "If eight-year-olds are throwing stones," adds Kuttab, "what do you think they are going to be doing at 15?"

Whether or not the struggle is in its last quarter of an hour, the Palestinian leadership's strategy of political moves and non-violent protests may be. The street is quickly moving into an influential position, and soon the views of Israel and the rest of the world won't matter. □

Lesley Cissell is an American writer living in East Jerusalem. She is married to Maher Abukhater, managing editor of the English weekly *Al Fajr*.



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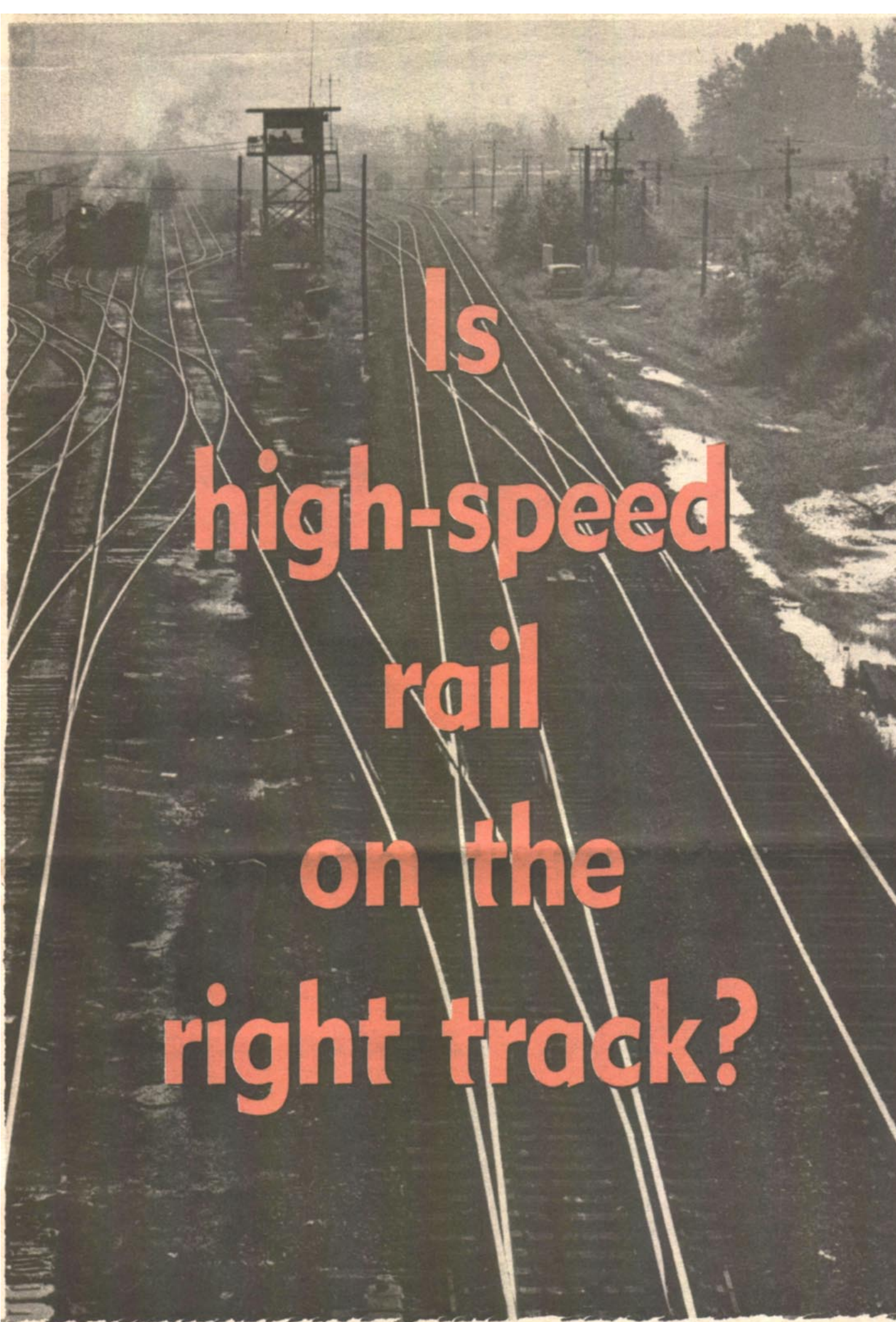
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American Policy should reflect America's Values



Is high-speed rail on the right track?

By F.K. Plous

WILL AMERICA EVER HAVE HIGH-SPEED trains? Will we ever travel from city to city at 186 miles per hour, as the French do on the latest version of their TGV (*train à très grande vitesse*), or at 205 miles per hour, as the Germans will begin doing next year on their ICE (InterCity Express)? Failing that, could we at least settle for trains that cruise at 125 miles per hour, as the Tokyo-Osaka Shin Kan Sen (New Trunk Line) "bullet trains" did when the Japanese inaugurated them in 1964?

As recently as two years ago, the answer

to all of those questions might have been no. According to popular wisdom, Americans won't ride trains and don't want government in the railroad passenger business. And the following developments during the '80s seemed to reinforce that assumption.

- In 1987 Pennsylvania Gov. Robert J. Casey shut down the state's High Speed Inter-City Passenger Commission just after it published a study showing that a Philadelphia-Pittsburgh high-speed line would be carrying 5.5 million to 8.8 million passengers annually by the year 2000 and covering the hilly 350-mile route in three hours.

- In 1984 a 123-mile Los Angeles-San Diego high-speed line proposed by private interests flopped when its banker, First Bos-

ton Corp., questioned ridership projections of 100,000 a day.

- In 1982 voters sweepingly rebuffed the Ohio Rail Transportation Authority (ORTA) when it proposed a high-speed rail bond issue. Budgeted at \$8 billion and marinated in politics, ORTA's spiderlike system would have reached into every corner of the state, including areas too sparsely populated to support a daily bus, much less hourly trains. Faced with a vicious recession and massive job losses in Ohio's manufacturing industries, cost-conscious Gov. Richard Celeste shut ORTA down.

That was then, this is now: But in the '90s the public and the politicians seem suddenly sobered by air-travel delays, highway

congestion, suburban sprawl, jet noise, vehicular pollution and a general logistical sclerosis that overwhelmed much of the nation during the last decade. Considering that new hub airports cost \$3 billion to \$5 billion apiece, new expressways cost up to \$60 million a mile and growing environmental objections can delay such controversial projects almost indefinitely, it's not surprising that the idea of an American high-speed rail alternative is regaining momentum toward respectability.

Frequent Flyer magazine, the bible of the affluent business traveler, ran a glowing review of the European high-speed train scene in last December's issue, then followed it up with a serious why-can't-we-have-it-here article in its February edition. Both stories fetched favorable mail from readers. When *Newsweek* did a gee-whiz story on Europe's high-speed trains last summer, including the Channel Tunnel route that will link London and Paris in three hours, enthusiastic responses in the magazine's letters column suggested that Americans may be a lot more pro-train—and more informed about the realities of high-speed train travel—than the "experts" here had long believed.

Today, almost all who have followed the creeping progress of the high-speed-rail movement in this country over the last decade agree that something is changing. Joseph Vranich, Washington representative for the High Speed Rail Association, a 600-member trade group, says there was palpable excitement at the association's 1990 convention in San Antonio, Texas, last month.

"What amazed me about this convention compared to earlier ones I've been to was how many of those who attended stayed right to the end and sat in on all the sessions," Vranich says. "I was so impressed with the growing number of companies exhibiting at the trade show."

The spectacle of nervous defense contractors sniffing around for a big-ticket passenger-train project was not lost on Vranich, who formerly worked in Washington for both Grumman and Boeing and considers the aerospace industry's appearance at a high-speed rail forum a healthy development. He also finds cause for congratulation in the spirited competition now breaking out among global consortia seeking contracts to build high-speed rail systems in the U.S. Texas, which hosted this year's convention to highlight its own plans for a high-speed rail system to run Dallas-Houston-San Antonio and back to Dallas (the "Texas Triangle"), is the current beneficiary of one such race.

"There is intense competition between TGV and ICE to build the Texas Triangle," Vranich says. "It's as intense as any aviation competition I've ever seen between Boeing and McDonnell Douglas or Grumman and Lockheed. I don't know who's going to win, but whoever does, the Texans are going to get the best system."

The trains that wouldn't die: But the convention's most bracing aspect, Vranich says, was not the growing number of would-be vendors. It was the vitality of the would-be buyers, the state and regional high-speed rail authorities that were supposed to be out of business but somehow stayed alive.

California, now linked with Nevada in a bi-state commission, is back with plans for a 230-mile magnetic-levitation system to connect the tourist centers of Las Vegas and Anaheim with trains that float above an electronic guideway at 300 miles per hour. In Ohio, ORTA's overambitious statewide network of 1982 has been scaled back to a more

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realistic 249-mile "3-C Corridor" linking Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati. A new agency, the relatively depoliticized Ohio High Speed Rail Authority, is planning the project.

And while Pennsylvania may have killed its High Speed Inter-City Passenger Commission in 1988, the 1990 HSRA convention was attended by three officials from no less than the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. It was not a coincidence. State Rep. Richard Geist has 140 co-sponsors for a bill authorizing the Turnpike Commission to take over the duties of the extinct rail commission.

Vranich considers such bureaucratic role transformations another sign of life for fast trains in the U.S. Like viruses mutating to exploit new hosts, the U.S. high-speed-rail movement has survived one threat after another by adapting to subtle changes in the environment. The Texas High Speed Rail Commission had its genesis inside that state's turnpike commission, and its current executive director, Bob Neely, formerly ran the state's toll roads. Branching out into high-speed rail, Vranich says, constitutes de facto recognition by state transportation officials that highway technology has reached its limits. Says Vranich, "High-speed rail today is where turnpikes were in the '30s."

Why the U.S. lags: Unfortunately, that's another way of saying that true high-speed rail doesn't yet exist in the U.S. Although Amtrak operates its Metroliners at 125 miles per hour over a few stretches of straight track it owns in the Northeast Corridor between Princeton and New Brunswick, N.J., frequent curves limit top speeds on most of the route to about 110. Elsewhere, where Amtrak operates on track owned by freight railroads, conventional signaling systems hold maximum speeds to a federally mandated 79 mph.

By contrast, the international rail establishment considers 125 mph the absolute minimum necessary for admission to the high-speed club, and even that figure must be a sustained cruising velocity rather than a burst of top speed achieved intermittently on straightaways. At this point the U.S. simply hasn't got anything to compare with France's new TGV Atlantique, which cruises between Paris and Brest at 186 mph and recently hit 322 mph in a test run with only technicians aboard.

Why has the U.S., normally so technology-smitten, lagged more than a generation behind Europe and Japan in the passenger-train sweepstakes? Complex historical, political and economic factors are responsible, but they can be reduced to two fundamental reasons.

First, the U.S., alone among the industrialized nations, has never had a nationalized rail system, making it impossible for government here to invest in rail as it does in other transport modes. Privately owned U.S. trains and track have never had access to the cheap government capital that built the nation's highways, canals and airways (and funded much of the military aerospace technology that cascaded down into commercial airliners). Until Amtrak was created in 1971 to salvage a tiny remnant of the nation's antique passenger-train system from its private owners, the federal government had never funded a contemporary intercity passenger rail service or infrastructure.

But high-speed rail in America faces a sec-

ond obstacle: it's basically a "niche technology" that doesn't lend itself to establishment of a nationwide, federally funded system in a country containing vast tracts of sparsely settled territory. No matter how successful high-speed rail becomes here, there will never be a high-speed-rail analog to the interstate highways or the federal airways system—a coast-to-coast network. Fast trains are useful only in densely populated, highly urbanized corridors of 75 to 350 miles in length. At those distances, trains doing better than 125 miles per hour actually beat air travel on a portal-to-portal basis.

But only about a dozen such corridors in the U.S. have the population and travel volumes to support an expensive high-speed train installation. A Congress representing 50 states is unlikely to furnish much funding to a handful of intrastate or bi-state projects. So in California-Nevada, in Michigan and Florida, in Texas and Ohio and the New York-New Jersey-New England conurbation, public authorities are entering the '90s asking a series of questions whose answers will determine the future of high-speed rail in the U.S.

Who will fund high-speed systems? Who will own the tracks and stations? Who will own the trains? Who will operate them? Will state governments or multi-state authorities go into the transportation business? Will the U.S. have a series of "stateized" railroads analogous to Europe's nationalized ones? Or should states own the tracks and charge private operators a fee to operate their trains over them, much as government lets private-sector airlines use publicly owned airways and airports?

Regardless of who owns the systems, will they make money? And should they be expected to do so? No other passenger transportation system does.

Both in the U.S. and abroad, highways, waterways, airports and air-traffic control systems receive government subsidies that exceed the receipts from user fees. Should high-speed rail be any different?

In particular, how will high-speed rail lines pay off their high infrastructure costs, including interest charged on the long-term bonds required for major public works?

"Once it's up and running, it'll pay for itself," says M. Scott Hercik, manager of rail and marine passenger services for Michigan's Department of Transportation (MDOT). "Ticket revenues will pay the daily operating and maintenance costs of the tracks and trains. But it cannot pay off the capital costs. That's historically been the big stumbling block."

The price tag: Why is high-speed rail so expensive to build? Primarily because a genuine high-speed rail line must be built fresh from the ground up. It's not enough simply to buy a faster train, put it on the tracks and run it. Conventional rights of way—and conventional freight trains—are incompatible with high-speed rail operations. Their trains require what civil engineers call a "dedicated right of way"—tracks that carry high-speed trains only—no freight trains, no commuter trains and no Amtrak trains.

A dedicated right of way for high-speed trains can be expensive. In Florida, where the terrain is flat and no major rivers or other natural obstacles hinder the building of rail alignments, consultants planning the

state's first high-speed rail line have budgeted \$2.49 billion for infrastructure alone. (By contrast, the fleet of trains is expected to cost only one-tenth of that figure.) That's roughly \$12 million per mile—relatively cheap in view of high-speed rail's overall productivity—but the figures can rise steeply in areas where tunnels, large bridges or elevated routes through large cities must be constructed.

Even where a relatively cheap, straight and flat right of way is available—as it is on a number of underutilized freight railroad routes in the Midwest—there's a limit to how much can be saved by recycling an older route. Grade crossings are a no-no because of the danger of collision with a motor vehicle. So are grade crossings with other railroads. Wherever a high-speed rail line crosses a vehicular road or a conventional rail line, a viaduct must be constructed to take the high-speed line over or under the obstacle. As we learned in paying for the interstate highway system, grade-separated rights of way are expensive to build.

Because of the high speeds involved, high-speed rail tracks and ties must be engineered to higher standards than those that carry freight trains at 45 to 60 mph. Curves present a particular problem. The outside rail must be "superelevated," or banked upwards, as much as 7.5 inches higher than the inner rail in order to balance the centrifugal forces that come into play when trains change direction. Like the airplane in a turn, high-speed trains must tilt as they curve, and the degree of superelevation in the outside rail must rise gradually as the track alignment changes imperceptibly from straight, to gentle curve to tight curve—and then back to straight again.

Another major expense is the signaling needed to keep trains spaced so that a following train won't run into the one ahead. The conventional system in use for the last 100 years—the automatic block system that uses colored signal lights beside the track to tell the engineer that the next "block" of track ahead is clear—is a virtual stone-age implement compared to what the TGV, Shin Kan Sen and ICE trains use. They have on-board, microprocessor-controlled dispatching systems that tell the train crew, the crews of other trains and the railroad dispatcher precisely where every train is at every moment and can stop a train automatically if it advances too close to another train or any other hazard. High-tech signaling is one

reason the Shin Kan Sen has operated for 26 years without an accident. More than 2 billion passengers have been carried without even a minor injury, making high-speed trains a safer method of transportation than elevators. But while safety pays, it also costs.

Finally, high-speed rail is expensive because the trains must be powered by electricity conveyed to the locomotives by an overhead wire. On-board diesel or turbine engines can't torque up fast enough to generate the acceleration high-speed trains require to stay on schedule.

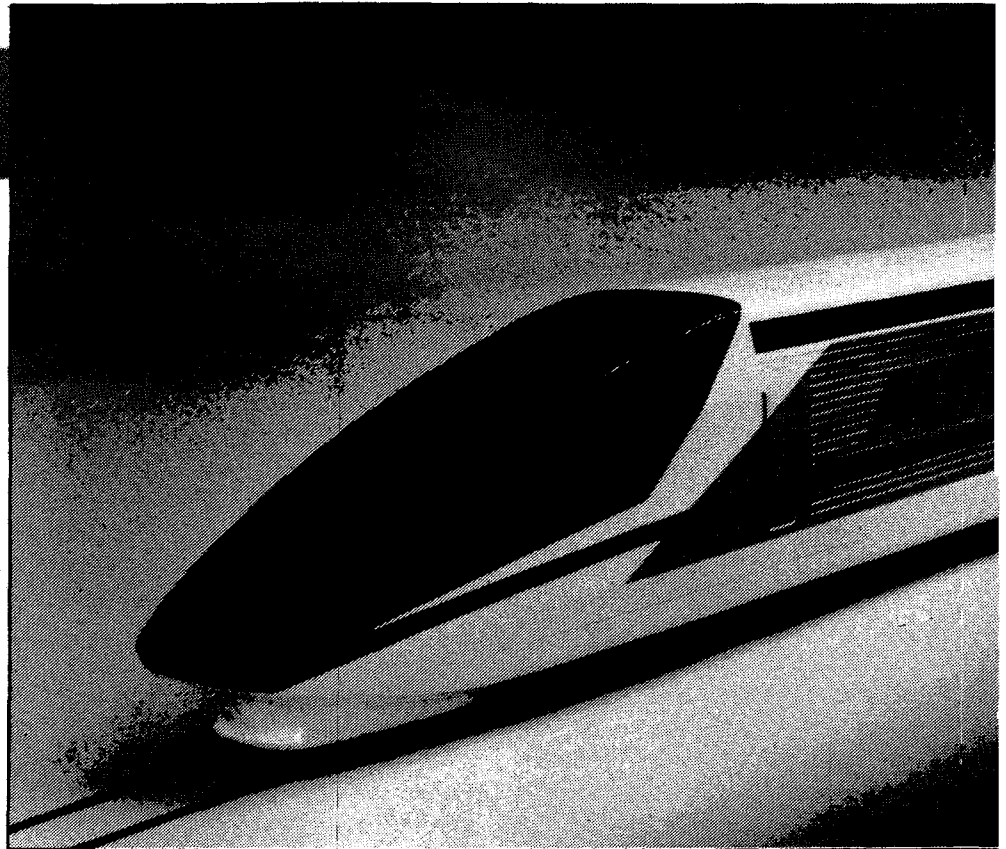
But a simple trolley-car wire above the tracks isn't enough, either. To prevent snagging by the roof-mounted "pantograph" that brings electricity from the wire into the train, the wire must be suspended from a second wire that hangs in a perfectly engineered "catenary curve" above the first, much as the roadway of a suspension bridge hangs from its cables. Catenary is so expensive that only 404 miles of it exist in the U.S.—Washington to New Haven and Philadelphia to Harrisburg.

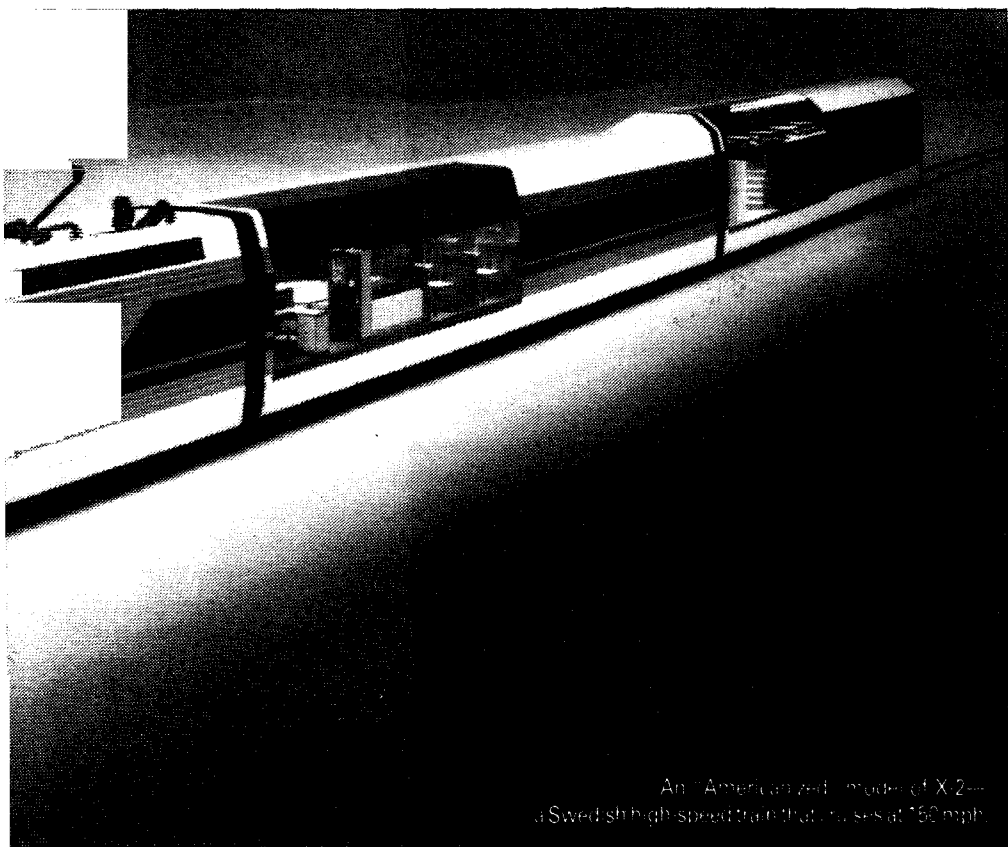
Taken together, Florida will pay \$248 million for signaling and electrification—almost \$1 million a mile.

The challenge ahead: No entity, private or public, has built this type of railroad before in the U.S. The great age of railroad building in North America ended almost a century ago, and since then an ideology has prevailed in which railroads were acknowledged to be the sole transport mode in which the right of way was to be owned and financed by the private sector. There's no special rationale for the decision—just history. When the U.S. was founded, transportation infrastructure was clearly understood to be a responsibility of the government. Roads, canals, river and harbor improvements were financed and owned by government, which then permitted entrepreneurs to operate coaches, wagons, canal boats and ships over the people's right of way.

The railroad industry started that way, as individual towns chartered municipal companies to connect their communities with adjacent ones. But the rise of railroad technology coincided with the rise of the great age of capitalism, and the infant municipal railroads, most of which ran only to the next town, were soon bought up by corporations and consolidated into major regional systems.

Despite the abuses of monopoly and the revenge exacted by a century of regulation,





An "Americanized" model of X 2000—
a Swedish high-speed train that cruises at 150 mph.

most of America's railroads have remained firmly in the private sector. Local and regional takeovers of commuter trackage—most of it unneeded by the railroads for their freight trains—is the major exception to the rule.

Ironically, perhaps, the rise of commercial aviation in the '30s and '40s saw America's transportation-ownership format revert to that of the nation's earliest days. It was the time of the New Deal, and government ownership of transportation infrastructure was in fashion again. So the deal was struck: the federal government would own the traffic-control system that guided the new airplanes from point to point, and federal taxes—along with tax breaks for bondholders—would pay for the new airports. The private sector would own and operate only the airplanes themselves.

The system still stands. Air, water and highway infrastructure are owned by government, and government employees—state troopers, Coast Guard personnel, air-traffic controllers, snow-plow drivers, U.S. Army engineers—manage the different systems. Only the railroads do everything in-house, with private funding.

But now that system is being challenged by the need to create a dozen or more 21st-century high-speed rail lines traversing a variety of polluted, congested corridors threatened with economic stagnation if they cannot move passengers faster and more economically. Private interests, like those which historically have run the railroads, cannot hope to raise sufficient capital from their traditional private sources to build such systems.

Yet government remains reluctant to commit the billions required to build the infrastructure for an industry in which it has never been involved as an owner-operator. The states know what they want, at least in terms of technology. They want fast, frequent trains of the Japanese or European type. In fact, some states have known what they wanted for a decade or more. The looming question has always been: how can it be funded?

The Florida High Speed Rail Commission (FHSRC) thinks it has found a way. After watching other states trip repeatedly trying to finance high-speed rail during the early '80s, two of the Sunshine State's veteran land-use attorneys, Jake Varn and Henry Van Assenderp, devised a financing plan that, if successful, could spread to other states.

The key to the Florida formula is "value

capture." Briefly stated, value capture recognizes that passenger transportation systems create new wealth in two ways: they enhance the value of passengers' time by moving them faster, and they raise the value of the real estate adjacent to the system's access points.

Build an airport and what happens? Industrial parks, office complexes, hotels, restaurants, car-rental lots and a host of ancillary service businesses collect around the perimeter. Everybody makes money. Build an interstate highway and the same thing happens at each interchange—first a gas station, then a motel, then a shopping mall, all leading to the same conclusion: transportation facilities enhance the value of real estate, and some of the increased value can be "captured" through taxes, rents and sales to amortize the first cost of building the new transportation facility.

To implement that philosophy, the FHSRC took a daring step after its founding in 1984. Instead of building and operating a rail line itself, it requested proposals from private-sector developers, asking them not only to build and operate a passenger-train system but also to develop real estate near the stations and use the proceeds of development to pay off the construction bonds.

Varn, who formerly served as the state's secretary of transportation and head of the Department of Environmental Regulation, saw high-speed rail not merely as a fast train ride but as a real-estate development tool and—a critical point in environment-conscious Florida—a benign form of land-use management that could help authorities channel new development away from the overbuilt coastal strip into undeveloped areas a few miles back from the oceanfront.

The railroad would also reduce the need for car and air travel, would spare authorities the need to expand or open new airports and would stave off a transportation crunch that threatened to destroy the very environment that brings tourists and new settlers to Florida in the first place. According to one study, if a high-speed rail line were not built, 44 additional lanes of expressway would have to be opened between Miami and Ft. Lauderdale by the year 2000. The resulting blanket of concrete and carbon monoxide would destroy South Florida.

Two private companies applied to become the FHSRC's franchisee—TGV of Florida, a U.S. subsidiary of the consortium that built the French high-speed rail system; and Florida

High Speed Rail Corp., a newly formed consortium of 29 partners, sponsors and participants led by CRS Sirmine, a major public-works and engineering firm headquartered in Houston, and ABB, Ltd., a Zurich-based conglomerate formed from the recent merger of the Swedish locomotive and railcar builder Asea AB and the Swiss manufacturer of electrical propulsion systems Brown Boveri Ltd.

Last year the commission named FHSRC as its "presumptive franchisee." The carefully chosen nomenclature means FHSRC will be authorized later to develop and operate a 324-mile double-track electrified rail line connecting Miami, Orlando, Tampa and 10 intermediate stops—provided it can prove to the commission that it can secure sufficient private-sector financing to build an infrastructure estimated to cost \$2.49 billion in 1987 dollars. Last December FHSRC submitted the first draft of its plan, along with a check for \$650,000 that the commission will use to audit the applicant's claims.

Don't just sell tickets—sell land! The key to the Florida formula is the complex way in which higher real-estate values created by the railroad are funneled back to bondholders supplying the money used to build the infrastructure. Under the Florida High Speed Rail Act of 1984, as well as pre-existing legislation, the state itself cannot supply funds to build the railroad or to guarantee returns to bondholders. No federal funding is available either. The only collateral that could possibly guarantee the value of bonds issued by private investors is the rising value of on-line real estate (including that developed by FHSRC) and the power of local taxing bodies to tap it. As FHSRC President R. Redding Stevenson Jr. puts it, "The [real estate] revenues are the collateral for the bonds."

Stevenson says there are two basic channels through which growth in the value of real estate will be turned into money to pay off bonds.

The first is for FHSRC itself to become a developer of real estate along the right of way and to use some of its profits from rents, leases and sales to pay off bondholders. Technically and legally that's no problem. A major partner in FHSRC is ADCO, the real-estate-development subsidiary of Miami's AmeriFirst Bank and the company where Stevenson worked as a developer before he joined FHSRC. Under the High Speed Rail Act, the franchisee becomes a privileged developer. While Florida's strict land-use laws force most developers into a three- or four-year permitting process before they can build, FHSRC can telescope that process into less than a year. Almost as soon as grading of the right of way begins, FHSRC, or local firms with which it chooses to co-develop, can begin putting up offices, shopping centers, hotels or condos near the sites of major stations.

In fact, the act enables the franchisee to obtain expedited permits even for developments located several miles from the station. (The catch is that the developer must also install a public-transit system connecting the development with the rail line—a nice tradeoff that helps on-line communities reduce local auto traffic just as the railroad reduces intercity vehicular movement to the turnpike.)

But according to extremely conservative

projections by FHSRC's financial adviser, Shearson Lehman Hutton, even the proceeds from private-sector real-estate development are unlikely to amortize the infrastructure costs fast enough to lighten the crushing burden of interest payments set in motion by the \$2.5 billion borrowing. (Over the 30-year life of the franchise, interest payments are likely to total \$2.1 billion.)

So a second value-capture mechanism, tapping what Shearson Managing Director Arnold Greenfield calls "real-estate-related sources," will have to be set in motion to fill the revenue gap. The mechanism includes a "menu" of three relatively benign real-estate taxes that can be levied by local authorities.

The first, tax-increment financing (TIF), is already in use in many parts of the country to fund a wide range of public improvements. It's premised on the idea that an improvement—a new sewer system, better street lighting or, in this case, a high-speed rail line—will raise the value of real estate in the district the improvement serves. As properties change hands at higher and higher prices, the county assessor raises the assessments on all properties in the district to reflect the new values. The increased tax revenues attributed to the improvement (the increment) are then allocated wholly or partly to pay off the cost of the improvement that brought them about. TIF is a popular tool because it enables a community to collect more real-estate taxes without actually raising the tax rate.

A second mechanism, impact fees, also has a successful history in many communities. A county or municipality simply levies a capacity charge on a developer and uses the money to defray the cost of improvements needed to serve the developer's project. (The name reflects the philosophy that real-estate developers should pay for the "impact" their projects make on services provided by local government—primarily roads, but also water, sewage and other public works that must add capacity to handle the new development.)

FHSRC expects that some on-line communities will elect to pay their portion of the infrastructure debt in a third way—out of simple assessments or special-benefit fees levied on property in the district favored by the new railroad. Such fees are essentially a tax on those who enjoy a special service, much like the taxes that support fire-protection districts, mosquito-abatement districts and park districts. Florida law allows all three forms of revenue to be raised by local government without a referendum.

"Congratulations, mayor!" What's fascinating about the Florida formula is not only the diversity of the revenue stream flowing to the bondholders but the intricate architecture the 1984 act designed to channel it. To keep transactions at arm's length, real-estate levies imposed by on-line communities are paid first to a public trustee, most likely the chairman of the Florida High Speed Rail Transportation Commission, who in turn pays the bondholders. By using locally raised funds to pay off land-acquisition and construction bonds, the on-line communities are likely to emerge as the actual majority owners of the infrastructure, with real-estate developers in a minority position.

Florida High Speed Rail Corporation will

Continued on page 18

EDITORIAL



Rape, pillage, plunder: President Bush and the lumber companies

On June 23 the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will decide whether to classify the Northwest's spotted owl as a threatened or an endangered species. Its decision could have a major impact on the remaining virgin forests of the Northwest. One recommendation of federal scientists to protect the owl would stop logging on up to 3 million acres of old forest. Because lumber companies cut down the tall trees on privately owned land long ago, most of the remaining old trees are on federal land. Some of these trees are more than 1,000 years old, making them among the oldest living things on Earth. Under present federal land management policy they are being cut down at the rate of 170 acres a day. In a decade they could all be gone.

To Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr.—aka James Watt II—the environmentalists' attempt to save the owl, and therefore the trees, is an example of "insincerity." According to Lujan's spokesman, Steven Goldstein, they are simply using the Endangered Species Act "to stop economic progress or development." And President George Bush, though he has distanced himself from Lujan's suggestion that the Endangered Species Act be rewritten to take corporate interests into account when making environmental decisions, doesn't really differ with him. "I reject those who would ignore, totally ignore, the economic consequences of the spotted owl decision," Bush said to the thunderous applause of Republican businessmen at a \$1,000-a-plate breakfast in Oregon two weeks ago. "It's a human equation. The jobs of many thousands of Oregonians and whole communities are at stake."

Environmentalists, who are concerned about the forest as well as the owl, take a different view. As Greenpeace's Peter Dykstra said in response to Lujan's proposal, "The fact that the act is unambiguous is the very reason for its success." Indeed, if the act had allowed a balancing of corporate and environmental interests, 10 years of Reagan and Bush administration policies would have led to the extinction of many species on the endangered list.

Even with an unambiguous Endangered Species Act, old Northwest forests are disappearing at an accelerating rate. This is partly a result of administration policy but also a consequence of corporate raiders taking over Northwest lumber companies. The recent U.S.-Japanese agreement to encourage exports of American lumber—something the timber industry had long fought for—is expected to triple some lumber companies' sales, and company publicists say

this increased cutting will also create thousands of new jobs.

Meanwhile, takeovers by out-of-state corporations in Washington, Oregon and California have been on the rise, causing further speed-ups of cutting. Notable examples include Britain's Sir James Goldsmith's purchase of Crown Zellerbach and the leveraged buyout of California's Pacific Lumber Company by Maxxam Corp. of Houston, which was financed by Drexel Burnham Lambert junk bonds. These new owners do not take a long-term view of their resources. Burdened with junk-bond debt, they see any standing tree simply as an unclaimed financial asset. And once the trees are gone, these corporations will simply move on to other profit-maximizing opportunities.

Lumber companies once practiced sustained-yield cutting. But now, says Leo McElroy of Forests Forever, "it's more like locusts. ... They come in, take everything they want and leave bare countryside."

The president, the lumber companies and the corporate media are trying to sell this rape of our national forests as something that will create jobs. But it is more likely that the increased cutting will entail mechanization that will reduce the number of jobs. Though the Pacific Northwest produced a record 10.8 billion board feet of lumber in 1988, employment in the lumber industry in Washington state alone dropped by 10,000 workers that year. Profits went up; jobs disappeared.

New policy needed: The fact is that the national forests belong to us and future generations. When the old trees disappear we lose something forever, while the corporations that cut the trees make their profit and run. Our national interest lies in protecting our natural resources, which in this case means strictly regulating tree cutting on public lands and protecting the old growth on private land. As for jobs in the Northwest, many more would be created by investing in the manufacture of finished wood products rather than relying on accelerated exports of raw lumber. But our national leaders are so beholden to their corporate sponsors that they continue to take the short view. It's time to elect some who don't.

In These Times wins Utne Reader awards

Last month the editors of the *Utne Reader* announced their second annual Alternative Press Awards, and *In These Times* swept the field. Well, almost. We were pleased to receive both the award for best publication from 15,000-50,000 circulation and the award for cultural coverage. *In These Times* was the only publication to receive two awards and was a finalist in more categories than any other. We are grateful to the editors of the *Utne Reader* for this honor.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

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LETTERS

Murder most foul

THE TORTURE-MURDER OF ALEX RACKLEY WAS one of the most heinous crimes committed by the New Left. In a ludicrous article (ITT, May 9), Paul Bass seeks to pin blame for this atrocity on the FBI for allegedly instigating it instead of on the Panthers who clearly committed it. Bass builds his tenuous case on the basis of FBI memos written *after* the murder that warn FBI agents not to try to divide the Panther ranks by planting false accusations because the Rackley incident shows what a bloodthirsty bunch these Panthers were. Any reasonable person would conclude that these memos show the FBI to have been more conscientious than most of us on the left then gave them credit for being.

Bass, on the basis of no other evidence, concludes just the opposite. But even suppose that Bass were right. Suppose the FBI falsely implied that Rackley was a police informant. The Panther leaders, Ericka Huggins among them, still sat in a room and watched while boiling water was poured over Rackley's chest and still acquiesced (at the very least) in the death sentence that a party official ordered and had carried out. And the New Left at the time closed down Yale University (an event whose anniversary is being "celebrated" by progressives today) to demand the unconditional release of Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale, who were on trial for the torture-murder that was actually committed.

Leftists claim to be concerned about the injustices committed against people of color. What about the people of color who were murdered by the Panthers, Alex Rackley among them? Why in these 20 years—amid all the books and articles written by tenured radicals about the relatively innocuous tactics used by the FBI in its COINTEL-PRO campaigns against the Panthers—has there not been a single article or book investigating the many murders and serious crimes, including rape, robbery, extortion and arson, committed by these heroes of the movement?

David Horowitz
Los Angeles

Paul Bass replies: I made no attempt to justify the Panthers' murder-torture of Alex Rackley. I quoted Warren Kimbro, one of the gunmen who served a jail term in connection with the murder, as saying even he recognizes that no amount of FBI dirty tricks justified his actions. That said, the FBI's use of crimes to disrupt dissidents' First Amendment rights does matter. It matters to the people whose rights are violated. It matters to a society that supposedly seeks to protect the right to dissent. And it matters because it increases the cycle of violence. Rather than showing the FBI to be "conscientious," the memos discussed in the article demonstrate the FBI's eagerness to forge letters, harass dissidents and provoke fights among the Panthers. While not excusing subsequent violence, this demonstrates government complicity in the Panthers' crimes. The FBI chose not to plant false information on San Francisco and Las Vegas Panthers about one of their members being a police informant specifically because of the New Haven experience. But the assessment of Panther violence didn't deter the agency from pursuing other equally dishonest and illegal disrup-

live tactics. Given the well-documented effects of similar federal and local COINTEL-PRO-related activities in cities such as Chicago, where Fred Hampton was murdered by the police, one would expect promoters of a free, democratic society to take the FBI's transgressions more seriously than Horowitz does.

Amazingly safe

I GREATLY RESENT YOUR BIAS AGAINST NUCLEAR power as expressed in the diatribe against the ads of Committee for Energy Awareness (ITT, April 18). The ads referred to are absolutely true—not lies, as you labeled them. Nuclear power plants do reduce carbon dioxide and sulfur dioxide emissions by eliminating an equivalent number of fossil fuel burning power plants!

The reduction in carbon dioxide is not important despite the present propaganda designed to create fear of the so-called "greenhouse effect." Now really, is one-half degree—if any—theoretical rise in temperature per century really something to get all upset about? Now? Get data!

The reduction in sulfur dioxide is important, since sulfur dioxide causes acid rain. And it is acid rain that has created so much havoc in Eastern Europe, India, Greece, etc. But if you recognize the danger from acid rain then you've got to do something about it, and that gets expensive. You are willing to pay double for your electricity from fossil fuel plants? Like the Sierra Club that only now discovered acid rain and is still opposing our totally harmless nuclear power plants? Great—but are you willing to lose your manufacturing plants to the Japanese because they will have cheap electricity from their nuclear plants? Sure you are! So you will settle for the new generation of safer nuclear plants, heh? Do you realize that you will have to wait at least 50 to 75 years to find out if these plants are as safe as, let alone safer than, our present amazingly safe nuclear plants and their comparatively tiny amount of waste.

You have been acting like five-year-olds, swayed by every TV sound bite that comes down the tube.

Arthur Dutky
Omaha

God's choice

WHY IS ISRAEL SO POWERFUL IN WASHINGTON? It is not the money game, as so many anti-Zionists believe. Arab oil has more international capital.

Would you believe there is a spirit up there in Washington? The closer you get to men with high political, economic and military power, the more you see them aware

of a God over them who controls them for its wishes more than theirs.

Most of us—the poor proletariat—do not know living spirits, much less the God of creation and history. But is it too much for reasonable minds, who have studied Plato and looked at the Bible, to surmise that there are dead up there somewhere, ancestral spirits who are part of some consciousness above ours, and that this consciousness would reasonably focus on world leaders?

Maybe God moves political leaders more than lobbyists and voters.

Jack Greenfield
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Not a bad model

IN CONTRAST TO JOHN JUDIS' PESSIMISTIC VIEWS (ITT, May 9), I would argue that Sweden's policies do provide workable models that are timely, highly relevant and certainly worthy of emulation. My understanding of Sweden is far from complete, but I suspect that your editors would admit the same.

Tax rates in Sweden are higher than in the U.S., but they also provide much more value to average citizens. The wide range of social-welfare benefits available in Sweden are not means-tested but are provided to all—which helps explain the broad base of public support for the policies. Sweden is not unlike the U.S. in many respects, with its heavy reliance on markets and private ownership of industry and its balance of service and manufacturing. Sweden is also dealing now with problems the U.S. will soon face. Levels of computerization in the workplace are higher, as is the number of industrial robots per capita. Over 17 percent of Sweden's population was over 65 in 1987, compared to 12 percent in the U.S.

Public health care is the cornerstone of social-welfare policy in Sweden. It covers more people and procedures while costing less than U.S. health care. Sweden's health-care system produces impressive results. Population health indicators such as infant mortality and life expectancy are measurably better than those in the U.S. (or Canada, Germany and the United Kingdom). Sweden has a mixed public and private health-care sector, but it is one that incorporates systems of regionalized government planning coupled with centralized payment mechanisms that make use of market competition among service providers.

Family policies in Sweden are additional evidence of the value that tax-supported services provide to individual taxpayers and the national economy. Over 65 percent of Sweden's women work, representing the highest rate of labor force participation in the world. Sweden compensates either partner who stays away from work to care for children

until the child is 270 days old and during periods of child illness up to age 12. An extensive public program supports preschool day care for all children. Schooling, including college education, is publicly supported. All families receive a basic child allowance from birth to age 16 to help cover the general costs of raising a child. Compensation is also paid to the parent who cares for gravely handicapped children and to those assisting disabled adults or elderly. The everyday lives of U.S. citizens and the productivity of the national labor force could both benefit from the comprehensive, nationally planned system of family support, child care, education and dependent care already in place in Sweden.

Levels of unemployment in Sweden and budget outlays devoted to cash welfare payments are both much lower in Sweden than in the U.S. as a result of labor market policies that devote resources to better vocational and job placement counseling, training with pay and relocation assistance and incentives for employers to hire and retrain employees.

Alec Nove and Robert Heilbroner's suggestions that Sweden has lessons for U.S. policymakers should not be written off until we've had a chance to develop a greater understanding of Sweden's relevance to the U.S. In my view, Swedish industrial planning, schools and job training, health care and other policies and programs deserve much closer examination in *In These Times*' pages.

Larry Chapman
Madison, Wis.

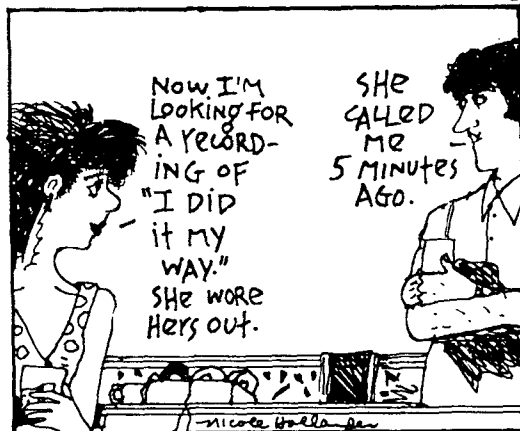
Correction

A "ETC" COLUMN ITEM "ROBINHOOD TO ISRAEL" (ITT, May 9) wrongly attributed criticism of U.S. aid to Israel to the State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989*. Wishful thinking, no doubt.

The criticism, including a call for the suspension of aid to Israel (based on U.S. law, which prohibits economic or military aid to countries that engage in consistent human-rights abuses) was made by Act On Conscience for Israel Palestine, a newly formed "National Campaign for Responsible Foreign Aid." Act On Conscience's advisory council includes William Sloan Coffin, Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf, Adrienne Rich, S. Brian Wilson, Rosemary Radford Ruether and Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton. The group, whose nationwide protests on April 15-16 of U.S. aid to Israel received hardly any media attention, can be reached at P.O. Box 21104, Washington, DC 20009.

Edmund R. Hanauer
Executive Director, SEARCH for
Justice and Equality in Palestine Israel

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 6-19, 1990 15

By Rashid Khalidi

WITH THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE MIDST OF A crisis of serious proportions—and very possibly launched on a slow, inexorable slide toward a major war—it is hard to discern signs of a sense of urgency in Washington. The causes of the crisis are easy to describe, and how it could develop into a regional conflict is also clear. It is hard to see why the Bush administration seems so nonchalant about it, no matter how busy it is with other pressing issues.

The basic reason things in the Middle East are rapidly getting worse is that there has been no progress toward a resolution of any aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict over the past year and a half, even while that conflict has been seriously exacerbated by several new factors.

The lack of progress has to be laid squarely at the door of the Likud-dominated Israeli government, which simply does not want movement on terms anyone else, including the Israeli Labor Party, will accept. Blame must also be shouldered by the Bush administration—"the fabulous Bush and Baker boys," as the *New York Times Magazine* recently had it—which failed in the first instance to see the extent of Shamir's intransigence, and which since March has sat around waiting for a resolution of the seemingly interminable Israeli government crisis while a regional crisis develops.

Much of the problem resides in the so-called Shamir Plan, later transmogrified

No urgency in Washington as Mideast crisis grows

into the Baker Plan. This is based in its essentials on the pro-Israel Washington Institute for Near East Policy's 1988 report, *Building for Peace*, drafted by a group including several individuals who went into top positions in the Bush administration. Even had Shamir not refused to implement his own plan, it is doubtful that there would have been progress toward resolution of the conflict. For the Shamir Baker plan is predicated on postponing almost indefinitely any negotiation on the issues dividing the parties. Instead it focuses on endless procedures (i.e., talks among Egyptian, Israeli and U.S. foreign ministers to pick Palestinians to negotiate with Israel on terms of elections and to pick Palestinians to negotiate an interim arrangement for at least five years, after which negotiations on issues of substance might begin at a time and in a way to be determined, presumably by yet more negotiations).

This Rube Goldberg masterpiece of what the boys in Washington like to call "process" would probably never have flown anyway, although the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Egypt had reluctantly deferred to the American insistence that they take the initial steps. There was no chance to find out, however, since at the

very outset issues of substance reared their ugly heads from behind the thickets of procedure where the planners in Washington had hidden them. The specific issues over which everything broke down were crucial ones, notably the right of the Palestinians to insist that some of their negotiators be from Arab East Jerusalem, and others from outside the Occupied Territories. Shamir was unwilling to accept these proposals—although the Labor Party was—and the Israeli government collapsed over this issue.

Thus, in spite of the solicitude of the drafters of the Baker Plan to prevent contentious issues from arising at an early stage, two of the most complex issues—Jerusalem and the position of Palestinians living outside their occupied homeland—arose at the very outset, indeed before negotiations had begun. All of this was made more sensitive by the fact that in the wake of Shamir's inflammatory call for "a big Israel for a big immigration," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker felt that Shamir was lying to him personally by claiming in phone contacts that no new Soviet Jewish immigrants were being settled in the Occupied Territories, when in fact many were being settled in the Arab eastern section of Jerusalem annexed by Israel in 1967 but which the U.S. and the rest of the world have always considered to be occupied territory.

Shamir's words had an impact in the Arab world as well. Until his call there had been no concern at the massive increase in Soviet Jewish emigration from the USSR, the change in U.S. law that barred most of them from coming to the U.S., as they preferred, and their consequent arrival in Israel. Suddenly, Shamir's remark provoked the alarm of Arab leaders and the PLO, who foresaw the settlement of these people in the Occupied Territories and the unsettling prospect of "a big immigration" being used to justify "a big Israel" by Shamir, who would then have yet another excuse to postpone negotiations.

Intifada II: Against this background of a frozen settlement process, a paralyzed Israeli political system, a crisis in American-Israeli relations and the prospect of the arrival of well over 100,000 Soviet Jews in Israel this year, the all-but-forgotten Palestinian *intifada* flared up with the heaviest casualty tolls in its two and a half years—24 killed and hundreds wounded in four days. The immediate catalyst was the killing of seven Palestinians near Tel Aviv by an Israeli gunman, but all of the factors just mentioned clearly played a contributory role in stoking this explosion of popular frustration, notably the success of Shamir's stonewalling tactics in putting off any progress toward a settlement.

These same factors also played a role in the spread of the *intifada*. Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel and the Palestinian districts of Amman and Irbid, as well as many of the refugee camps in Jordan, saw disturbances for three days. Two were killed and many injured. Jordan is especially sensitive to any indication that Israel will increase settlement in the Occupied Ter-

ritories or annex them. In Amman, it is generally believed that such a process can end only in the expulsion of more Palestinians from the West Bank to Jordan, further destabilizing its delicate internal situation.

All that was needed to turn a Palestinian-Israeli crisis into a general regional one was supplied with the war of words between Iraq and Israel over their development of non-conventional weapons capacities: Israel's potent nuclear arsenal and Iraq's chemical warfare capacity, developed and used during its war with Iran. Iraq's President Saddam Hussein launched the war of words, presumably fearful of an Israeli preemptive strike against his country's chemical weapons capabilities, along the lines of the 1981 bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor. He seems to have meant to deter Israel by warning it against such an adventure, but he did so in a singularly maladroit way by threatening its civilian population with retaliation if Israel attacked Iraq first. Israeli leaders responded with deterrent language of their own, less inflammatory but equally serious in intent.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, already busy trying to lower the tensions generated by this issue by obtaining a no-first-strike pledge from Israel and Iraq before this week's Baghdad Arab summit, was seemingly caught off balance by the upsurge in anger in the Arab world over the killing of so many more Palestinians. He issued a warning that if the peace process were not restarted and if Soviet Jews were settled in the Occupied Territories, he foresaw "the whole region on the verge of a bloody new confrontation." Shamir answered this wave of Arab statements with one of his own: "If these trends of hatred don't stop and keep on coming from our neighbors, I would not recommend to ourselves to sit and do nothing."

All of this provided the ominous background for the Arab summit, where the speeches of both Jordan's King Hussein and President Mubarak reflected their well-founded apprehensions about the stability of their regimes should current trends continue. They could not have taken comfort from Saddam Hussein's speech promising Iraqi retaliation should Israel attack any Arab state with non-conventional weapons. Nor could the Palestinians, for Iraqi chemical weapons, if used, would strike indiscriminately at areas inhabited by Palestinians and Israelis—but only the latter are being trained in civil-defense techniques and provided with gas masks.

Such grim prospects do not seem to have disturbed the equanimity of those in authority in Washington. Backing away from what seemed Baker's willingness to send U.N. observers to the Occupied Territories, the U.S. told the U.N. Security Council at an emergency meeting that the most it could accept was a mission by a representative of the secretary-general. There is no sign that the administration is ready for urgent measures to defuse the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, launch a serious peace process or begin planning a multilateral non-conventional arms proliferation regime in the Middle East. Until and unless there is action on these three fronts, the regional crisis, and the slide to war, will continue. ■

Rashid Khalidi is associate professor of modern Middle Eastern history at the University of Chicago.



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Recounting the losses: Panama five months later

A few weeks ago they opened up a mass grave in Panama City. Relatives stood around waiting to see if they could identify any of the rotting bodies which had rested there since the U.S. invasion of December 20. There were bodies, they said later, with hands tied behind their backs. One woman had to stay in the appalling stink all day to see if a relative was there.

The official U.S. figure for the invasion is 220 dead civilians. Many hospitals and human-rights groups reckon the toll at ten times that figure. According to the Costa Rica-based monthly *Mesoamerica*, both the Catholic and Episcopal churches estimate that 3,000 died, most of them in the slum area of El Chorrillo around Noriega's military headquarters.

The Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in Central America (CODEHUCA) stated in a March 1 report that "the actual death toll has been obscured through U.S. military practices, including: (1) incineration of corpses without prior identification; (2) burial of remains in common graves without identification; (3) U.S. military control of administrative offices of hospitals and morgues, permitting the removal of all registries to U.S. military bases."

There are reports that the U.S. army used flame throwers to burn bodies, without photographing them for later identification.

An earlier commission of inquiry reported on February 8 that there had been execution-style killings and that tanks had run over cars and homes and fired at ambulances. In the wake of the invasion there are probably 50,000 left homeless in Panama City, with 18,000 refugees from El Chorrillo alone. The U.S. government has offered El Chorrillo families \$6,500 to resettle, but most remain in refugee camps since the sum is inadequate.

Little of what has been happening in Panama has penetrated the sedulously fostered glow of satisfaction in the United States that evil—Noriega—was put to flight and that "democracy" was restored.

This antipathy to reality is scarcely surprising. More than six years after the invasion of Grenada, it is almost impossible to find any mainstream U.S. newspaper with the inclination to send someone down to the Caribbean to catch the latest on Reagan's adventures in liberation: 20 percent unemployment, social disintegration, vast emigration, soaring crime rates, restriction on civil liberties and graffiti such as "Reagan, the World Terrorist No. 1."

It's the same after Operation Just Cause, which landed those people in their mass graves in Panama and Noriega in a U.S. jail. Anyone wearying of announcements over the world PA system that the Cold War is over should study closely what has happened in Panama and understand that the Cold War, as actually fought by the U.S. against the Third World—i.e., the war the U.S. took seriously, beyond posturings about the Soviet "threat" to keep military appropriations at full tilt—is carrying on exactly as before, and indeed is intensifying.

As Noam Chomsky, certainly no admirer of the Soviet Union, recently wrote: "The reality, as has long been evident, is that the fear of potential superpower conflict has served to contain and deter the United

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

States and its far more ambitious global designs. The frightening 'Soviet intervention' in the Third World has, commonly, consisted of moves by the Kremlin to protect and sustain targets of U.S. attack. Now that they are limiting, perhaps terminating, these efforts, the U.S. is more free to pursue its designs by force and violence, and the rhetorical clouds begin to lift."

In other words, there are no souls more deluded than those who suppose that the United States crushed the Dominican Republic and Grenada, or destabilized Jamaica, or laid siege to Cuba and later to Nicaragua by arms and economic embargo, out of fear of "Soviet expansionism." Now

It's not hard to see a likely course of events over the next months and years in Panama: increasing evisceration of labor unions, imprisonment of political dissidents, U.S.-sponsored organization of death squads.

that these fears have been allayed by Gorbachov, the U.S. will roll up the old doctrines and move on. At most, the Cold War has half-ended, and where it has always mattered most—the Third World—it is roaring along more hotly than ever.

Return to Panama. Why did the U.S. invade? The initial pretexts—harassment of U.S. personnel, etc.—have long since been exposed as ludicrous. Evidence mounts that the U.S. deliberately provoked confrontation since the months running up to the invasion. Claims of outrage at Noriega the Drug Smuggler are similarly absurd. The U.S. worked with him for years when his smuggling activities were well known, just as the U.S. has worked happily with drug-smuggling contras, Thais, Afghans and Pakistanis.

Invasion occurred because Noriega partially worked athwart U.S. strategies to overthrow Nicaragua (see *In These Times*, Jan. 17). Panama had become an important staging post for both Cuba and Nicaragua in their efforts to outflank U.S. economic sanctions. First Torrijos and then Noriega had moved counter to the interests of the old white elite displaced by Torrijos in 1968 and now restored by the U.S. The class factor could not have been more clearly displayed than during a visit by Vice President Quayle a couple of months after the invasion. Robert Lear, the *New York Times* reporter, stated falsely that Quayle had not visited El Chorrillo but did concede that "pro-American sentiment is expressed more forcefully by affluent and middle-class Panamanians than by those with lower income." Rita Beamish reported for the Associated Press that "before leaving Panama City, Quayle took a driving tour of the impoverished Chorrillo neighborhood.... As his motorcade drove slowly by the area, onlookers

gathered in groups and peered out windows, watching in stony silence."

Noriega, indubitably a vicious thug, outlived his usefulness as he began to discommodate traditional U.S. allies in the local business elites and political oligarchy. The same pattern can be seen in the fates of Trujillo, Somoza, Duvalier and Marcos. There were other factors. On New Year's Day administration of the canal was due to pass largely into the control of Panama.

The invasion has restored the status quo ante Torrijos. The months following December 20 have seen a systematic purge of Panamanian politics, seeking to eliminate all possible centers of organized dissent. According to CODEHUCA, more than 10,000 people have been fired from private and government jobs. A familiar pretext is that the victims of these firings were members of Noriega's Dignity Battalions.

President Endara's new national police force and the U.S. Army have been conducting sweeps of volatile neighborhoods. On March 9 the police detained as many as 700 people in an operation called "Rescue of the Democratic Calm," which was conducted primarily in poor neighborhoods. On March 16 they arrested Rosendo Samudio Bonagas, a member of the Community People's Party, for distributing anti-U.S. fliers.

The prime targets have been Panama's labor unions. On March 15 Second Vice President Guillermo Ford, who is also minister of planning and political economy, unveiled a plan to privatize the Panamanian economy and restructure the labor code. The code, introduced by Torrijos in 1972, has been a great step forward for workers in Panama, as Ford conceded, while adding that "it is not possible for President Endara to continue with the paternalistic state, which has created monsters."

In the first days of the invasion, U.S. troops arrested three top Panamanian labor leaders—Maurice Murillo and Gustavo Martinez of the CNTP trade union; and Juvenal Jimenez, the general secretary of the Chirique Banana Workers Union. Many union offices were raided and ransacked, and the Journalists' Union was banned. Murillo said in an interview before the invasion that he had been told by the U.S. State Department that he and other union leaders were on a list of people who "would be eliminated" if they didn't "get on their feet

in support of the opposition [to Noriega]."

Teresa Gutierrez, working with former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who has been heading an investigation into post-invasion conditions in Panama, says that new labor laws deny the right to hold union meetings, the right to protest and the right to strike. Union organizers are frequently rounded up and held without charges by the newly formed Technical Judicial Force.

Questioned about such arrests of labor leaders in the wake of the invasion, a senior official in the U.S. Embassy said of the list of people the U.S. soldiers were using, "We weren't given any details, just that the Endara government wanted us to get them. They're bad guys of some sort, I guess."

A long report in the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* recently spelled out in some detail the extent of the disingenuousness of this U.S. official. According to *Excelsior*, the U.S. has extended its military occupation of Panama by extending a network of military officials in all the ministries and principal government institutions. This network is called the "parallel government." Far from diminishing—in mid-February the Endara government asked the U.S. to withdraw the 13,600 troops dispatched for the invasion over and above the normal resident force in the Zone—the U.S. military presence has merely been refined.

According to *Excelsior*, "opposition politicians have said privately and publicly that the worst possible situation for Panama is not an invasion, as they recently experienced, but that the 'colonized mind' continues to lead the country."

It is not hard to see a likely course of events over the next months and years in Panama: increasing evisceration of labor unions; imprisonment of political dissidents; U.S.-sponsored organization of death squads, as popular resistance to the U.S. presence mounts and the colonized mind rebels; probable overturning of the provisions of the Canal Treaty as signed by Torrijos and Jimmy Carter.

The U.S. may largely be unaware, and certainly careless, of what is happening in Panama. This is not true of the countries in the region. The "Group of Eight" countries—Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and previously Panama, which was suspended in 1988—voted at its March 30 meeting formally to oust Panama, claiming the Endara government is illegal and that new elections are necessary. The foreign ministers of the group also stated that the U.S. military is operating outside its mandate.

Distributed by Alexander Cockburn.

CALL FOR PAPERS

LABOR CONFRONTS THE 1990'S

Cyrus Bina, Laurie Clements, Chuck Davis, Editors

Labor Confronts the 1990's seeks to explore and substantiate the dynamics of the decline of the U.S. labor movement, and to propose policy initiatives necessary for labor's revitalization. Of particular importance and emphasis for this text is the conscious restructuring of capital in response to the crisis of profitability, and its effect on class relations in the United States.

The five paper topic areas: the transformation of the labor process; the changing labor market experience; the role of the State in capitalist society; the internationalization of capital; and U.S. labor's agenda for the 1990's should be considered in light of the interaction between the restructuring of capital and the restructuring of class relations as the volume's central focus and basic organizing principle.

The book's goals are to develop a coherent theoretical, ideological and practical plan of action for U.S. labor in the 1990's; and to ensure that the readers are provided with a selection of articles that joins theory and practice, and encourages them to locate specific issues affecting them in a political economy framework.

Authors invited to participate in this project will receive an invitation to present their papers at the University and College Labor Education Association's Midwest/Southern Regional Conference, November 7-9, 1990, at the University of Iowa, Iowa City.

Please send manuscripts to Chuck Davis, Labor Education Service, University of Minnesota, 447 Mgmt./Econ. Bldg., 271 19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55455 (612) 624-7046. To be considered, papers should be received by October 1, 1990.

Rail

Continued from page 13

function largely as the operating company running the trains, deriving its revenues from ticket sales. In fact, however, the actual running of the trains, staffing of trains and stations, and marketing and ticketing functions are likely to be contracted out to yet another specialized firm, most probably an airline but possibly Amtrak.

If all goes as planned, FHSRC will be approved as franchisee in December after it submits additional data and the commission has evaluated it in a proceeding known as an MDR—more detailed review. Planning and construction could then go forward, with service—14 trains a day each way, with expresses running from Miami to Tampa in two hours, 50 minutes—starting in 1995.

The promise of a real-estate-driven high-speed rail line financed and managed by private interests has attracted all eyes to Florida. Texas High Speed Rail Executive Director Bob Neely says his state probably will go for some version of the Florida formula to fund its system, and California-Nevada Super-Speed Executive Director Paul Taylor says his authority is examining the option.

It might not work up North: But even its strongest proponents caution that the Florida formula may not travel well. They say it's likely to work best in Sun Belt states where population is growing fast and ag-

gressive real-estate development is paced by a fundamentally strong economy. Florida, which attracts 900 new residents a day and 50 million tourists a year, expects 3.5 million new residents and an annual tourist count of 70 million by the year 2000. With that kind of growth, real estate will represent relatively strong collateral for bonds.

That's definitely not the case in Michigan, which would love to have a high-speed rail from Chicago to Detroit but can't boast of a growing population or a year-round tourist season. In addition, its economy is still making a painful transition from heavy industry to an undetermined future. In 1985 a consortium led by San Francisco engineering giant Bechtel Corporation offered to build such a line in a public-private partnership. "They were willing to come up with \$1.2 billion," says MDOT Planning Secretary James L. Roach, "but the public sector would have had to come up with between \$600 million and \$800 million, mostly for right-of-way acquisition. That was a lot of money, and the Michigan economy wasn't as strong then as it is today."

High-speed rail is still under study in Michigan, which is part of an interstate high-speed rail compact that includes neighboring Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York. But for the time being, the state is taking an incremental approach that emphasizes improving the speed and frequency of Amtrak's modest fleet of Chicago-Detroit corridor trains.

The current frequency—two departures per day on weekdays and three on weekends—should rise to a flat three times per day this fall, and speeds should rise a

bit too. The state also has funded a series of grade-crossing improvements between Kalamazoo and Detroit that should enable top speeds to rise from 55-60 mph to 79 mph, and it just installed two additional sidings to allow opposing trains to meet and pass each other without having to wait for the other to show up. MDOT also is funding a \$900,000 study that could ultimately lead to establishment of a 125-mph Amtrak service in the corridor—reasonably close to high-speed rail but minus the expense of building a new rail line and installing a new technology.

Tilting toward Boston at 125 mph:

The incremental approach also receives high marks from the Coalition of Northeastern Governors, whose high-speed rail task force prefers upgrading of Amtrak's conventional service to carving a whole new high-speed rail line out of expensive Northeast corridor real estate.

The task force chairman, Massachusetts Transportation Undersecretary Matthew A. Coogan, says the big problem right now is the 231-mile Boston-New York segment. The track is in excellent shape, he says, but the route alignment, which hugs the north shore of Long Island Sound, has so many curves that even the mighty Metroliners can't make the run in less than four hours, 24 minutes—too slow for airline passengers spoiled by one-hour flight times.

What Coogan advocates is a congressional appropriation that would enable Amtrak to buy or lease a fleet of French-built locomotives and a series of new Swedish-built "X-2" passenger coaches equipped with undercarriages that literally tilt the trains as they go through curves. By compensating for centrifugal force, the "tilting trains" fly through the curves without lurching and—most importantly—without slowing down. "They could take 27 minutes off the Boston-New York running time," he says.

"New York-Boston annual ridership is abysmal—only 10 percent of the combined rail-air-bus market," Coogan says. "Basically, we think we can take that 10 and run it up to 30 percent. During tests two years ago (with a Spanish-built "Talga" tilting

train), we took trains up to well over 120 miles per hour."

Perhaps more important, says Coogan, is that Amtrak President W. Graham Claytor Jr. and Federal Railroad Administrator Gilbert Carmichael are tilting in the same direction.

"Claytor and Carmichael went to Sweden in December, and they were quite taken with the X-2 system between Stockholm and Gothenburg," he says. "It is our shared opinion with Amtrak that tilt is the appropriate technology, and Claytor told a House committee four weeks ago he is committed to tilt technology not only between Boston and New York but between New York and Washington, where it will save them seven minutes. We'll be bringing the X-2 over here and giving it a trial in 1991."

As the '90s dawn, there seems little doubt that the U.S. will have at least some high-speed rail, sometime. But how much and when remain hard to predict. Ideologically fixated on rail technology as a private-sector responsibility, Americans remain reluctant to invite even its most advanced and attractive version, high-speed passenger trains, to huddle under the same public umbrella as the highway, waterway and air-transport modes.

"I came out of public relations and journalism," says Texas High Speed Rail Executive Director Neely, "and I've got to tell you that to date the media here have looked at the whole thing very positively, especially from the standpoint of our traffic problems, our airport and airway congestion and our environment. The reaction has been very sensible: it's great, but don't let the taxpayers pay for it—let the users and the entrepreneurs who develop it pay for it."

Yet in almost the same breath, Neely's remark seems to suggest the possibility of an attitudinal change. "We get a lot of phone calls in here," he says, "from people who say, 'Ya know, I was in France last week, and I rode that thing from Paris to Lyon. If that's what Texas is gonna have, I'm all for it. Go for it.'"

F.K. Plous is a Chicago-based writer who specializes in transportation, real-estate and workplace issues.



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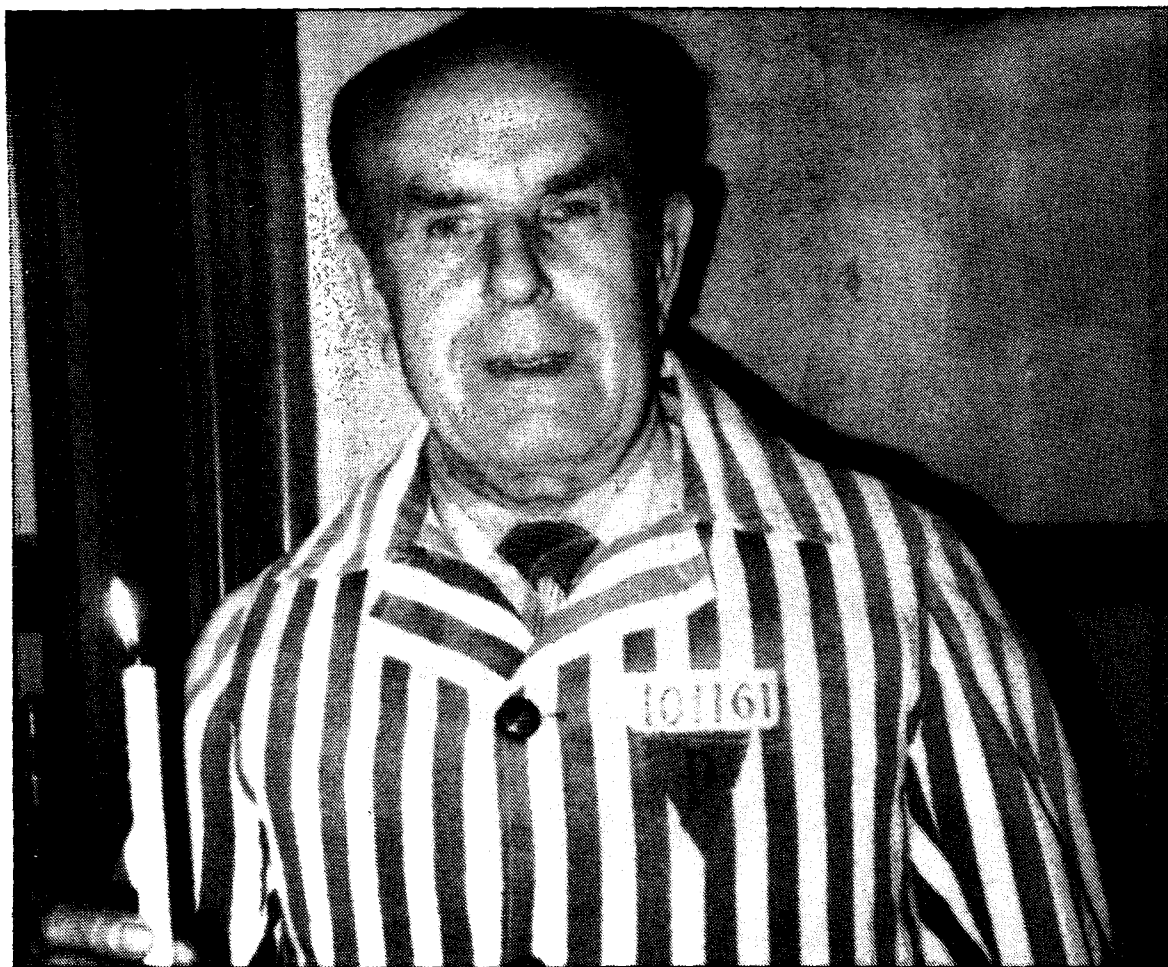
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Polish concentration camp survivor Josef Rszka shows solidarity with Gypsies at a May Holocaust memorial service.



A Hungarian Gypsy orchestra commemorates the Holocaust.

GYPSIES

Gypsies ponder who counts

By Debra Kaufman

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER THE END of World War II, one of the more hotly contested issues in the highly politicized arena of Holocaust studies has become the number of Gypsies who died. Gypsy organizer Ian Hancock, who represents the World Romani (Gypsy) Union at the U.N., puts the number at 1.5 million, countering estimates by some Holocaust scholars of as low as 200,000.

What seems like a particularly

A persistent ignorance about Gypsies reinforces long-held prejudices.

macabre numbers game is actually only one salvo in an intense and bitter struggle surrounding the study and remembrance of the Holocaust. Ironically enough, it is a battle—in both words and deeds—that pits those who were most victimized by the Nazis against each other. The stakes are high: the version of history that will live, as the printed truth, in history books, school texts and memory.

No tears for nomads: Though archives, records and personal testimonies relating to the Holocaust have been plumbed systematically by scholars, filmmakers and journalists, most of the focus has been

on the Jews, who were chosen for complete annihilation based on ethnicity alone. But among all the Nazis' victims, the case of the Gypsies most resembles that of the Jews, and, because of this proximity, their fate has been most hotly debated by those who advocate a view of the Holocaust's "uniqueness" for Jews. A persistent ignorance about Gypsies reinforced long-held prejudices and paved the way for lessening the significance of their wartime experiences.

Gypsies originate from the Punjab area of India, which they left, probably in the 10th century, to make their way slowly to Eastern and then Western Europe. From the time of their first appearance in Europe in the 13th century, they were subject to rejection by the Roman Catholic Church and hostility from local authorities and populations.

Prevented from settling, they were forced into a nomadic life, practicing crafts such as metalworking and horse trading. Germany, in particular, has a long history of anti-Gypsy legislation and actions. "Gypsy hunts" were popular (and often encouraged by the authorities) through the mid-19th century. Various kings and rulers branded, whipped, deported, enslaved and executed Gypsies. In the early 18th century in Prussia it was a hanging offense to be born a Gypsy.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, he didn't pass any laws against Gypsies. He didn't have to; anti-Gypsy laws had been on the books for years. But in that year the government began a campaign to sterilize

Gypsy women, and in 1934 Gypsies were selected for deportation to camps, where sterilization continued. Gypsies became subject to the Nuremberg Law for the Protection of Blood and Honor in 1935, and Nazi policy read that "in Europe generally, only Jews and Gypsies come under consideration as members of an alien people."

A mournful tune: Though Holocaust scholars argue over many of

the obscure facts of the Gypsy genocide, most agree that mass gassing was first tested on 250 Gypsy children at Buchenwald. Auschwitz housed the "Gypsy family camp," where the SS organized a Gypsy orchestra to entertain them and Camp Commandant Rudolf Hess fondly remembered them as "his favorite prisoners." They were also among the favorite prisoners of Joseph Mengele, who used them extensively for medical experimentation. Though Gypsies were allowed to keep their musical instruments, a Gypsy Auschwitz survivor remembers, "We weren't singing; we were crying." On Aug. 1, 1944, the entire Gypsy family camp of Auschwitz was liquidated in one night.

Despite Hancock's claim that between 50 and 75 percent of Europe's Gypsies were massacred, the exact number and exact percentage may never be known. Many Gypsies were killed wherever they were found and, unlike Jews, Gypsies kept no pre-war records or accounts of their own numbers. Archives in Eastern Europe are just now being made accessible to researchers, and some

answers may be uncovered. But even definitive numbers won't end the debate over the Holocaust's "uniqueness."

Proponents of the "uniqueness" concept insist that Jews alone were targeted by the Nazis for systematic and complete murder based on no other factor than ethnicity. The sticking point revolves around the systematic application of Nazi policy. As with the Jews, Nazis toyed with the idea of sending Gypsies to distant countries. Unlike the Jews, the Nazis also harbored a kind of romantic fascination with Gypsy culture that led Heinrich Himmler to propose, for a brief time, that some "pure" Gypsies be spared for a kind of living museum.

In this debate, nobody seems to mention the difficulty inherent in systematically exterminating a people such as the Gypsies who don't live in a "systematic" way, which is largely why nomadic Gypsies were often killed where they were found.

Although application of the anti-Gypsy policy seems to have varied somewhat from region to region, what is perhaps best documented is the fate of the German Gypsies, who had been settled for many generations. They were systematically rounded up (including those loyal German Gypsies who had joined the army), sent to camps and almost entirely liquidated. After the war, not one Gypsy testified at the Nuremberg Trials and Germany has never paid collective reparations to them.

In it together: If and how the intent of the Nazis toward Gypsies differed from that toward Jews is a question that will never have an answer. But on a personal and emotional level, one Gypsy camp survivor, speaking of the Jews, simply said, "Our smoke went up together in the chimneys."

For that reason alone, one would imagine a kind of solidarity of feeling between Jews and Gypsies that, on a personal level, does indeed exist. Yet when it comes to the more territorial concerns of academia and government, Gypsies are still not welcome.

Continued on next page



By Pat Aufderheide

Disappearing public service

If you use public airwaves for a profit, then you have to perform public service. That's the basic logic of broadcast licensing. Trouble is, how do you prove you've done it? Broadcasters formerly had to maintain program logs, so citizens who might want to challenge them at license-renewal time could look over their record. The Reagan-era Federal Communications Commission (FCC) abolished the logbook requirement, though, and said that a simple list of public-service issues dealt with in the last quarter of the year would be good enough. The Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force has taken up the challenge of using these records to demonstrate public service. And in a petition to the FCC, the task force has argued that the record is pitiful. Not only did Philadelphia stations typically list programs that totaled less than 1 percent of their total programming, the time devoted to issues of concern to women, racial, ethnic and sexual minorities was almost too small to count. (The study is available from the task force at 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.) The current FCC—vigilant when it comes to the threat of indecency on the airwaves—was unimpressed with the task force's challenge against the renewal of four out of six Philadelphia TV stations and granted—you guessed it—unconditional renewal. Whatever happens next, it's clear that the quarterly issues list is a frail policy tool.

It's not censorship, but...

If you have the money, you can advertise on television—except if your message ruffles the feathers of the powers that be. That's the lesson of two recent incidents. The Media Foundation tried to run a 15-second ad called "Tubehead," arguing that young people are using TV like a drug. American TV networks refused the ad. ABC said it would be like "shooting ourselves in the tube," and CBS said, "We would not broadcast a commercial that denigrated television. We also won't broadcast commercials that take controversial positions on important topics." Eventually the Canadian Broadcast Corporation ran several of Media Foundation's commercials on chronic TV viewing.

Meanwhile, Proctor and Gamble pulled its own TV ads when a Boston TV station aired a commercial produced by the advocacy organization Neighbor to Neighbor. The ad, which stations in several other markets refused, called for a boycott of Folger's coffee (a P&G product) because the beans come from El Salvador. "What it brews is misery, destruction and death," says narrator Ed Asner. Neighbor to Neighbor called P&G's action "corporate blackmail"; P&G calls the boycott ad disparaging and inaccurate.

The recent bannings are only the tip of the iceberg. Advertisers are as edgy as they've ever been on broadcast, steering away not only from overt controversy but also from shows like *Geraldo* and *Married...with Children* that offend some vocal conservative groups. The most vociferous recent assault on network vulgarity—by Rev. Don Wildmon's Christian Leaders for Responsible Television (CLear-TV)—resulted in Clorox pulling out ads from some shows; although Clorox maintains CLear-TV's boycott of their products never affected sales, it did receive 350,000 letters. The organization has now lifted its boycott of Clorox.

Ads on the wide screen

Watch carefully the big summer movie *Days of Thunder*, starring Tom Cruise. It's breaking records for ad placements within the movie. Chevrolet, Hardee's, Coca-Cola and Exxon are just some of the companies featured in the film about auto racing. According to *Variety*, there may be a backlash, or at least a moderating of the trend. Films like *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, with plugs for Domino's and *Mac and Me*, with plugs for McDonald's and Coca-Cola, may be supersaturating the audience's patience. But the profit pipeline from the lucrative mini-industry is hard to shut down, especially when even negative references—like the anti-K mart jokes in *Rain Man*—boost sales.

TV Marti

The U.S. policy of beaming escalating doses of propaganda at Cuba is being met with stern measures in Cuba. Having already jammed TV Marti (still in its test phase), now the Cubans are also jamming Radio Marti. (Radio Marti, widely lampooned in Cuba for its biases, is also an important source of news.) U.S. broadcasters are chilled at the prospect of retaliatory jamming—which could have effects as far as the Midwest.

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Gypsies

Continued from preceding page

Though the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust seems an arcane argument, it has also lent conceptual support for policies that can hardly be considered benign. In 1988, the California Board of Education voted not to include information on the Gypsies and the Holocaust in its model curriculum on human rights and genocide. A traveling exhibit from the Washington Capitol Children's Museum on children and the Holocaust largely ignored Gypsies.

Perhaps nowhere have the political implications of this concept been more clear than at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, established by President Jimmy Carter in 1980. The council, made up of 10 congressmen, 10 senators and 40 laypersons, reluctantly admitted one Gypsy member for the first time three years ago.

That council member was Bill Duna, a Gypsy of Hungarian descent who is a music professor in Minneapolis. And the Capitol Museum's scant references to Gypsies is especially painful to him since he fought in the council (which helped put together the exhibit) to mention Gypsy children.

"I'm just their token Gypsy when they need one," says Duna wryly. "And the rest of the time they tell me I don't represent the Gypsies."

Instead, Duna's advocacy for the Gypsies has been met by open hostility from some council members, including one whom Duna reports to have screamed at him, "I'm sick of hearing about the Gypsies. You're on the council—isn't that enough?"

Alternative ceremony: It wasn't enough this year, nor has it been any year, to include mention of the Gypsies in the annual national Days of Remembrance. So, for the second year, Gypsies organized their own Day of Remembrance in Chicago, which is home to a large group of Hungarian and Polish Gypsies. The memorial Mass at a Roman Catholic Church featured Gypsy music, a candlelight procession by Gypsy children and speeches by Hancock and Duna's fellow council member Erna Gans, who is one of his stronger supporters in Washington. Hancock urged approximately 300 Gypsies to



Gypsy children at the Holocaust memorial Mass.

"speak with one very loud voice" to avoid what he termed "a worsening situation."

The situation he referred to is the rise in anti-Gypsy prejudice, especially in Eastern Europe, where traditionally despised minorities have again become targets of abuse. In April, the Fourth World Romani Congress drew more than 300 Gypsy scholars, leaders and organizers to Poland to discuss, among other issues, wartime reparation from Germany. But recent reports from Eastern European Gypsy delegates of violence, police harassment and involuntary sterilization were a frightening echo of Nazi Germany for many. Hancock, along with other Gypsies in Europe, points to incidents that he fears may presage a coming genocide.

In the last year, Germans "detained" Gypsies for deportation at the site of a former Nazi deportation camp outside Koln. When other Gypsies were marked for deportation, 400 German Gypsies engaged in a sitdown strike at Neuengamme, a former concentration camp outside of Hamburg. After two months of occupation and passive resistance, the group was attacked by 200 police in battle gear who eventually dragged them out forcibly. The group marched 25 miles in the rain to City Hall, where they were again confronted by police.

That these incidents can occur (and, not coincidentally, receive almost no press coverage) seems intimately connected to the fact that the Gypsies' fate in World War II remains a forgotten Holocaust. And by forgetting the Gypsy genocide in World War II, the upswing in vicious anti-Gypsy incidents in contemporary Europe falls through the cracks of history, unlinked to an acknowledgment of historical context that, for ironically different reasons, both Germans and Jews remain reluctant to accept.

Within that perspective, Bill Duna's quiet, less dramatic efforts in Washington, D.C., to establish the Gypsy place in the history of the Holocaust seem as compelling a concern as anything happening to the Gypsies in Romania. Though some would argue that a denial of Gypsy history has only moral consequences, Gypsies who fear a new genocide believe that history shows only too well the potential consequences of silence. And for those who refuse to remain silent, such as Duna, the message behind the plea is even more chilling.

"I don't want to degrade the Holocaust for anyone," he says. "But I don't want to be forgotten either."

Debra Kaufman is a writer and filmmaker living in New York.

Rough
Cuts
BY
JARED

Deadly Bears: GUARANTEED TO GO FAST

Junkie Bear 	Drunkie Bear* <p><small>* Massive auto not included</small></p>	Punkie Bear <p>"I hate honey; berries are a drag; Dad's down at the garbage dump; think I'll snort some skag."</p>
Bummy Bears <p>Rehandling Panda Mental Ben BEAR change mun? I had a ménage à trois with Yogi and Boo-Boo I WAS ON TV with Opa's bro. I.T.</p>	Arm-chair Bear 	Intensive Care Bear

By Joe Goldman

I AM LEAVING ARGENTINA WITH 1,000 australes [about 20 cents] in my pocket," he says. "I can't pay my rent or my electricity, my phone is going to be cut off—I can't pay any of my bills. I can't afford a cup of coffee. I'm leaving here. I've had enough."

This is not a quote from one of the growing legion of disenchanted members of Argentina's middle class. These are the words of Fito Paez, one of the most popular Latin American rock stars. Like many other Argentine rock and folk musicians, Paez is leaving the country in hopes of penetrating other markets. For Argentine rockers, it has little to do with broadening their appeal. At this point, it is their only way to survive.

Rudolfo Garcia, a drummer with some of the most important rock bands of the '70s, laments the dramatic economic times being lived by the musicians and the country in general.

"I recently recorded an album with a group of well-known musicians," he says. "We had to guarantee purchasing a large amount of the records before they agreed to contract us. Now we have all these albums to sell. Musicians have to spend half their waking hours hawking records. I can't afford to step into a studio again until I've sold all these records."

Garcia says he would go abroad if he had the right deal, but so far nothing attractive has been offered.

Demos and demographics: Yet the U.S. remains a largely uncultivated market. Argentine musicians—like their society in general—have historically had more interchange with Europe than with the U.S. Now, with the economic fracture at home and the increasing concentrations of Hispanics in the U.S., there will likely be a mini-Argentine invasion during the next year.

The history of Argentine rock is intertwined with the military regimes and convulsive climate of the late '60s and the '70s.

The initial reaction in Argentina to the phenomenon of the Beatles, Bob Dylan, etc., was to imitate—always in English. Gradually, as the national consciousness developed and a new rebellious identity formed amid the protests against the military dictatorship, Rock Argentino was born. It began as the new poetry and rhythm of protest and differentiated itself from the melancholic tango—which had become a nostalgic exercise in pleasing tourists.

At the time, the Nueva Cancion, or New Song movement, with its folkloric roots, was sweeping Latin America. Chile, just across the Andes from Argentina, was the home of Nueva Cancion stars Violetta Parra, Inti-Illimani and Victor Jara. Argentina had Mercedes Sosa and Atahualpa Yupanqui as key con-



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Rock erodes on economy's rocky roads

tributors to Nueva Cancion, but the Argentines—with a typical mixture of arrogance and irreverence—were fomenting a Southern Rock Revolution.

"Dressing and thinking differently, taking on the [Roman Catholic] Church and opposing the establishment in general was difficult," says Pipo Lernoud, a songwriter during the early years of rock in Argentina. "We had our own version of

ARGENTINA

psychedelic rock, but ours couldn't proclaim love and peace as easily as in Europe and the States."

Songs like "It's No Use," by Moris in 1968, had a rock rhythm and an iconoclastic message. "What use are refrigerators washing machines, televisions new cars and relations friendships and positions if they're rotten and a bore?"

Rocking the foundations: The popular uprising in Cordoba in 1969 was the beginning of the end for this stage of military rule. Democracy returned, and rock reflected society's changes. "These are times for thinking that we are more each day. Day after day awakens the hope that every person will have their place. Repressed minds are now waking up to the throbbing of their souls" (from "Each Day We Are More" by Leon Gieco, 1972).

In 1972, Charly Garcia and Leon Gieco gained a wide following and remain two of the most important musical figures nearly two decades later.

Garcia has been the leading rock star in Latin America for 15 years,

maintaining his image as the skinny, irreverent, anti-establishment songwriter musician outcast. Garcia was one of the most acerbic critics of the military during the brutal years of 1976-83. Although Garcia wrote "coded" messages in his songs during these years, he was still heavily censored. After 1983, Garcia continued fiercely attacking the Argentine establishment. "Yesterday I dreamed of the hungry the crazy the ones that are gone the ones that are in prison Today I awoke singing this song that was written long ago it is necessary to sing it once again Love freedom, you'll always carry it in your heart They can corrupt you and you can forget, but it will always be there."

Garcia also ripped the Church, which stood by silently while 30,000 Argentines "disappeared" during the last military dictatorship. "He feels guilty he tortures himself he is not so intelligent he never advances he walks sideways he is afraid of his own mind. It's part of the religion," he sang in 1986's "Part of the Religion."

Garcia recently played New York's Ritz Theater to rave reviews. The hall was filled with Latinos, mainly Argentine expatriates. It is still unclear whether Garcia can break into the U.S. Latin music market. But his manager says that Garcia will be appearing more in the U.S. in coming months.

World music in one country: Gieco has been the Woody Guthrie of Argentina. Last September he organized what he termed a "dream concert" when he brought Pete Seeger to Buenos Aires and played

three emotional concerts with the elder statesman of U.S. folk music. Gieco traveled through Argentina a few years ago learning different styles in the wide array of folk music that exists in this land of cueca, zamba, chamamé, chacarera, tango (a mixture of Italian and African influences), polka (yes, Polish-influenced), candombe (African), bagualas (in the Andes, of inexplicable Asian roots) and milongas. Gieco continues playing his first love—rock—but with these diverse influences. At a Gieco concert, although rock dominates,

You can expect an Argentine musical mini-invasion of the U.S. sometime in the next year.

it is fused with a charango (the small guitar from Incan times), a harp (typical of the polkas of the northern Guaraní Indians), a bandoneon (an accordion without keyboards, typical of tango) or cajas (African drums of candombe).

Gieco wants to stay in Argentina, but if the crisis deepens he may move to Mexico for a year. He will tour the U.S. in September, but Gieco sees his music in terms of Latin American audiences (although he talks enthusiastically about the concert he will do in New York in September with Pete Seeger).

Soda Stereo is a group that has had enormous success in Latin

America in the last few years. The lead singer songwriter, Gustavo Ceratti, is a creative genius and charismatic sensation in concert, a Latino version of U-2's Bono.

Soda Stereo played to packed houses in Los Angeles and is trying to adapt to a U.S. Hispanic audience (i.e., more salsa). But the group appears at times trapped within its Latin superstardom and its lack of access to a world market. The dilemma is obvious in Ceratti's melancholic neo-tango lyrics set to rock rhythms. "I will walk between the rock. Until I feel the earthquake in my legs. At times I have fear, at times shame. I am sitting on a deserted crater. I go on waiting for the earthquake. In my body. Nobody saw me leave, and nobody is waiting for me. There is a crack in my heart. A planet disillusioned."

The wildest of the Argentine rock bands is a group called Patricio Rey y Los Redonditos de Ricota (meaning, literally, Patricio Rey and the Little Round Pieces of Ricotta Cheese). This is a group that comes from a collective of musicians hidden through the military years in their community. They busted out after 1983 and are prominent today as the most anarchic and chaotic representation of an anarchic and chaotic society. The group features some of the best musicians in Argentina. They are, however, not likely candidates to tour the North real soon. Indio Solari, the band's spiritual leader, would more likely want to stay during these times of crisis and continue to offend his country. ■

Joe Goldman is *In These Times'* correspondent in Buenos Aires.

Deregulation

Continued from page 7

efit since the now-deregulated airlines often form non-competitive, shared monopolies. The industry simply moved from 93 percent regulated monopolies or duopolies to 85 percent unregulated monopolies or duopolies, says Dempsey.

Destructive discrimination: So there are economies of scale within the airline industry after all. Computer reservation systems, frequent-flyer plans and possession of limited airport gates give established major airlines an advantage: big airlines have learned how to match more pre-

cisely the prices of any challenger, big or small, punishing anybody who tries to compete. The airlines can support that with deep pockets and above-average fares on their monopoly routes. (Other forms of discriminatory pricing include extremely high rates for regular travelers and extremely restricted discount rates for discretionary customers.) The average passenger actually pays 4.6 percent more than he or she would have if the pre-deregulation trend continued, Dempsey calculates. And since most hub-and-spoke flights are now longer, the actual average fare is 5 to 30 percent higher than the pre-deregulation trend, he claims.

Dempsey argues that destructive competition reduced service to small communities, led to lower quality service (more delays and cramped seating), decreased maintenance and the use of older aircraft and less-experienced crews—in short, to less-convenient air travel and a lower margin of safety.

In his report, Dempsey proposes a return to "light-handed" regulation that would better protect small communities and consumers by restricting the numbers of hubs an airline could dominate, curtailing price discrimination and establishing both a floor and ceiling on rates on relatively non-competitive routes.

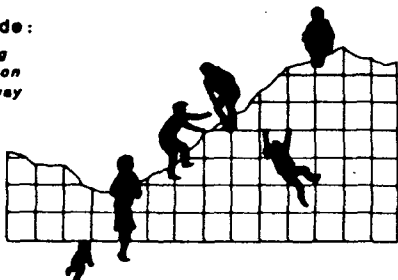
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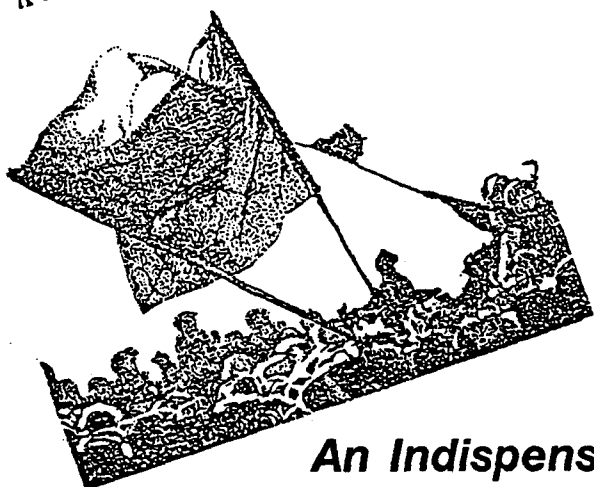
This year's institute runs from July 29-August 4. Costs are based on a sliding scale from \$200-\$650 and scholarships are available. On-site daycare provided; costs include room and board. The institute will be held at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. People of color are encouraged to apply. THE APPLICATION DEADLINE IS JULY 14th.

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NEW YORK

June 4-20

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
MONDAY, JUNE 4—Jack Hammond and Steve Shalom; Popular Power and Revolutionary Strategy; 7:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, JUNE 5—Elombe Brath, Anthony Tinker & Juliet Ucelli; Reflections on the End of an Era and the Beginning of a New One (first of three discussions); 8 p.m.

MONDAY, JUNE 11—Annette Rubenstein and Eli Messinger; Public Speaking for Radicals (first of two-session workshop); 7:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, JUNE 12—Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff; Reflections on the End of an Era and the Beginning of a New One (second of three discussions); 8 p.m.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14—Self-Portrait (Myths of Mental Illness) photographic works in progress; Opening Reception; 6-8 p.m.

MONDAY, JUNE 18—Public Speaking for Radicals (second of two-session workshop); 7:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19—David McReynolds, Ethan Young & Steve Brier; Reflections on the End of an Era and the Beginning of a New One (third of three discussions); 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20—Mark Campo, Nancie Evans, Bolet Breczynski & Peter Stastny; Myths of Mental Illness; 7:30 p.m.

Admission to all events \$5. All events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

Upcoming: July 3-15—Theater of the Oppressed workshop with Augusto Boal; July 16-27—NYMS Summer Intensive in Marxist Theory.

CHICAGO

June 7

DEFENDING THE GAINS OF NICARAGUA'S REVOLUTION; a forum with Orlando Perez, disabled Sandinista veteran and first FSLN representative to visit Chicago since the 1990 Nicaraguan elections. He is also a coordinator of a Nicaraguan disabled activists' group called CEPRI (Centro de Promocion de la Rehabilitacion Integral). At 7:30 p.m.; St. Pius Church, 1909 S. Ashland Ave. Admission \$5. For more information contact The Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, (312) 276-5626.

June 9

NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE REGIONAL CONFERENCE at DePaul University: 10 a.m. at The Commons (2324 N. Fremont), Professor John Coatsworth, Ph.D. (University of California History Dept.), presents update and analysis of current realities in Nicaragua. 1 p.m. at Schmitt Academic Center (2323 N. Seminary, Room 154), Orlando Perez speaks on Defending the Gains of Nicaragua's Revolution. From 4 to 6 p.m. at The Commons: David MacMichaels, Verne Lyon, Al Orten, Phil Redinger, Jack Ryan and other former CIA and FBI officials discuss Low-Visibility Warfare. Sliding scale \$5-\$15. Co-sponsored by Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, DePaul University, Pledge of Resistance and Bill of Rights Foundation. For more information, call Nicaragua Solidarity Committee at (312) 276-5626.

June 24

For 40 years the *Monthly Review* journal, founded by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, has represented independent and nondogmatic socialist thinking. Readers and supporters of *Monthly Review* in the Chicago area have formed a discussion group which meets at the New World Resource Center Bookstore, 1476 Irving Park Road. This month, the group is holding a public forum on Sunday, June 24, at 2 p.m. on "Market Socialism—Can the Best from Socialism be Combined with the Best of Capitalism?" The discussion will be led by Professor Leland Stauber, Political Science Department, Southern Illinois University. Co-sponsored by The Open University of the Left and the New World Resource Center. For further information call Perry at (708) 971-2620.

July 13-14

Pledge of Resistance National Convention, July 13-14, 1990; Chicago (De Paul University). Participate in setting the political priorities, program and overall direction of Pledge of Resistance for 1991. Learn from /share with Central American activists from around the country, participate in workshops, hear well-respected speakers, be prepared for some fun! Call (202) 328-4040 or write National Pledge of Resistance, P.O. Box 53411-3411, Washington, DC 20009-3411.

WASHINGTON, DC

June 9-10

GUATEMALA IN THE '90S: The Struggle for Democracy in a Country at War. A national conference featuring noted medical critic ALEXANDER COCKBURN and indigenous leader ROGIBERTA MENCHU. At the American University. For more information, contact: NISGUA, 1314 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005. Phone: (202) 483-0050.

NEWARK, DE

June 17-23

Marxist Literary Group presents 1990 INSTITUTE ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY at the University of Delaware. The Institute will focus this year on the topics of CULTURAL ACTIVISM. Proposals for papers, sessions, study groups or other events are welcome. For registration and more information contact Phillip Goldstein, Department of English, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716, (302) 451-2361.

SANTA CRUZ, CA

June 30

SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE: Balancing Social, Environmental and Economic Concerns, a Workshop to Create a Research and Policy Agenda for Tomorrow; at the University of California, Santa Cruz. The purpose of this one-day conference is to help further define sustainable agriculture and develop specific ideas for translating the concept into reality. At the conference we will provide a forum in which a broad range of people can come together to discuss their views, develop a collective statement of the needs participants believe sustainable agriculture must address, and create a research and policy agenda for helping to shape agriculture to meet those needs. The ideas discussed during the workshop will be published as a "Research and Policy Agenda for Sustainable Agriculture." Although there is no registration fee, we ask you to preregister by June 15. For more information, contact Barbara Laurence, Agroecology Program, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064, (408) 459-3240.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

July 6-7

PUTTING PROGRESSIVE POLITICS INTO PRACTICE. The 4th annual Bertha Reynolds Society National Conference of Progressive Workers in Social Welfare: Chauncey Alexander; Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock; Elena Zuniga, International Representative from Nicaraguan Association of Social Workers; and many others. For registration material write BCRS c/o SFSU Department of Social Work, 1600 Holloway, San Francisco, CA 94132.

LOVELAND, OH

August 5-11

A GLOBAL VILLAGE FOR YOUNG WOMEN at Grailville. Open to young women, 14-18, the week's experiential learning will feature global awareness, ecological sensitivity, women's concerns and spirituality. An international team will coordinate the program and will prepare a multicultural base for activities: study, work, art, music, cooperative living. For information and/or application, contact Audrey Sorrento, Grailville Programs, 932 O'Bannonville Rd., Loveland, OH 45140, (513) 683-2340.

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The Central American Labor Defense Network seeks a half-time **COORDINATOR** for its urgent action network in defense of Central American unionists. Writing and organizing skills required. Some knowledge of U.S. labor movement and Central America preferred. Contact CALDN Search Committee, Box 28014, Oakland, CA 94604, (415) 272-9951.

The Guardian, a 42-year-old independent, racial newsweekly, currently seeks individuals for the following positions: **NEWS EDITOR** to plan and edit *The Guardian's* domestic news section. Ties with the progressive movement and familiarity with a broad range of issues required. **PHOTO/GRAPHICS EDITOR** to work with photographers and artists, make assignments and select art for each issue. Must be well-organized. Experience preferred. **SUSTAINER PROGRAM COORDINATOR** to maintain records and correspondence with Sustainers. Experience in computer database management helpful. *The Guardian* is a political cooperative and although pay is low, there are good medical benefits. *The Guardian* is an equal opportunity employer, and Third World people, women, lesbians and gay men are strongly encouraged to apply. Agreement with *The Guardian's* general political outlook required. Send resume and summary of political experience to: Guardian Coordinating Committee, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 691-0404.

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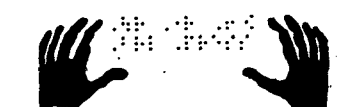
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Daze of the Dolphin

By Joel Schechter

I never realized the full effect military budget cuts could have in Connecticut until I heard that dolphins are being trained to guard our state's nuclear submarines. Yes, dolphins cost less than security guards; they require only fish or seaweed as compensation for their labor. But this time the U.S. Navy has gone too far in its cost-cutting, if you ask me.

The story about armed dolphins was first revealed by Rick O'Barry, trainer of the famous television star Flipper. He and fellow dolphin trainer Richard Trout (that's his name!) told the press that the Navy is teaching dolphins to wear snout-mounted guns. The highly intelligent mammals will attack and "nullify" enemy divers in the waters near nuclear submarine docks such as Groton, Conn.

Naturally, Navy officials have not confirmed the story; one could hardly expect them to declassify a top-secret program. Once it becomes widely known that the Navy is adding dolphins to its security force at the same time that longtime defense industry workers are threatened with layoffs, unions might well call for a strike against unfair hiring practices. (The dolphins are not members of any union at all and have no seniority in the nuclear submarine industry, as far as I have been able to determine.)

Animal-rights groups might also protest against the program, which forces dolphins to bear arms despite their reputed instinctive pacifism. Normally the mammals are quite friendly toward divers. I have read about Florida workshops in which humans swim alongside dolphins "and learn firsthand what the dolphins have to teach about relationships—to self, to others and to the planet." These New Age classes, conducted by Kim Rosen in Key Largo, will be considerably riskier once dolphins teach each other to use snout-mounted guns.

A far greater risk is being taken by the Navy itself if it arms the dolphins and forces them to guard nuclear submarines. There is some chance that the mammals, fed up with human control of their lives, will turn against the ships they are guarding. It would take only one highly intelligent mutinous dolphin, firing its snout-mounted gun at a red-alert computer system, to trigger World War III.

"A submarine in Groton has just been attacked, sir," the first engineer announces.

"It's probably those anti-nuclear protesters, the Plowshares Eight, again," his superior replies.

"No sir, it's a school of armed dolphins. They're firing guns at the ship's central computer system. I don't know how they got inside the hatch, but there they are. The missiles could go off at any moment."

"Call Moscow at once and tell them it's a mistake. Say the dolphins did it," says the chief engineer.

"I tried that. Dolphins answered the line in Moscow. They're taking over, sir."

The same day that Associated Press broke the story about the armed dolphins, President Bush announced that he would end plans for installation of new short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. I ask him, in the interests of world peace, to remove all the snout-mounted guns from our waters and sign a dolphin-disarmament treaty with the Soviets as soon as possible. If the Soviets have not armed their dolphins yet, so much the better.

And then perhaps someday we can discuss disarming our submarines. □

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